A SERMON OF *Conforming* and *Reforming*:

made to the *Convocation* at S. *PAULS* Church in *London*,

By

JOHN COLET, D.D.

Dean of the said Church:

upon ROM. xii. 2.

Be ye reformed, &c.

Writ an hundred and fiftie years since.

To which is now added an Appendix of Bp. *Andrews*, and Dr. *Hammonds* solemn *petition* and advice to the *Convocation*; with his directions to the *Laity*, how to *prolong* their happiness.

Jo. Colcti *cogitationes, quacunque etiam linguâ proditas, optârim.* Erasmi epist. p. 708. l. 12.

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BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

CONforming *and* Reforming *is now the talk of every man in this Kingdome. Some are very zealous for one without the other; our* Dr. *is for* both *conjoyntly, but yet in due order. He would have us first obey the laws of Christ (our great Law-maker) and then the Canons of the Church: and not without reason. For if the Church be* the body of Christ, *I would fain learn from our Non-conformists, why we may not give as much reverence & obedience to the laws of the Church, as we must to the laws of each paltry Corporation. The contrary position hath occasioned the great increase of fanaticks in this Realm, as I have proved in my discourse of the* rise & growth of Quakerisme, *which will shortly be printed.*

Rom. xii. 5. 1 Cor. x. 17. and xii. 13. Eph. ii. 16. iv. 4. Col. iii. 15.

If you desire to be informed concerning the life of this excellent person Dr. Colet, *you may read it described at large by* Erasmus *in his Epistles, à pag. 702. ad 712. (to which add* Sr. Thom. Mores *letter printed in* Stapleton, *tom. 4. p. 992.) And if you would know what other* works *this Authour writ, take the catalogue of them as it is set down by* Pitseus, *pag. 692.*

1 *In Proverbia Solomonis.*
2 --*Evangelium Matthæi.*
3 --*Epistolas Pauli.*
4 --*Precationem Dominicam.*
5 --*Symbolum Fidei.*
6 *Breviloq. dictorum Christi.*
7 *De reformidatione Christi.*
8 *Conciones ordinariæ, &*
9 --*extraordinariæ.*
10 *Vita hominis Christiani.*
11 *In cleri Convocatione.*
12 *Excerptiones Doctorum.*
13 *Ortolanus.*
14 *Epistolæ ad Erasmum.*
15 *De moribus componendis.*
16 *De institutione puerili.*
17 *Epistola ad Tailerum.*
18 *Ad argumenta Erasmi.*

Of wch 18 *books I have seen none yet, except this which I here publish, and his Commentarie on the first Epistle to the Corinthians, (which is in* Emmanuel *Colledge-library) unless I may reckon that small tract for one of them, which is prefixt to his* private Devotions; *printed for* I. Benson. *If any man know where any other of his pieces be, he is entreated to give notice thereof, either to me, or to M.* Crumleholme *Master of S. Pauls school in* London *or to M.* Morden *Bookseller in* Cambridge; *that they may be publish'd. You see this Sermon is one of* Pits's *number: and 'tis cited by* Holland *in his* Heroologia Anglica, *p.* 146. *And he that compares the* 4th *page of it, with what M^r.* Cambden *saith of D^r.* Colet (*Remains, p.*272) *will conclude, that he there means this discourse. The notes are added by me, partly to satisfie them who will ask what Canons there be to that purpose*

pose, and partly out of my gratitude to D. Colet, *unto whose bounty on S.* Pauls School, *I owe most of my education.*

If any ask why I cite Theodorus *and the* Canon law *thrice,* Linwood *and* Spelmans *Councels often: I answer, Because I suppose our D^r. meant them. And again those that I cite seem to be confirmed by an Act of Parl. 25. Hen. 8 c. 19. entituled,* An Act concerning submission of the Clergy: *wherein it is decreed thus,* Provided also, that such Canons, Constitutions, &c. being already made, which be not repugnant to the laws, statutes and customes of this Realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the Kings prerogative, shall now still be used and executed, as they were before the making of this Act, &c. *which Act is revived,* 1. *Eliz. c.* 1.

I have lately seen two small pieces in 8°, *on the same subject with this Sermon of D^r.* Colet (*which I wish were reprinted together*) *viz.* Stimulus pastorum per Bartholomeum à Martyribus, Hispaniæ Primatem, *Parisiis,* 1586. &, Oratio Gentiani Herveti de reparanda Ecclesiasticorum disciplina, *Brixiæ,* 1563. *From which and the like considerations, it is manifest enough to me, that*

the want of putting old Canons in execution, is the chief cause of almost all the schismes and heresies, which now rend asunder the Christian world.

If any object, that these times will not bear the publishing of such books here; I answer, that I hope better things, that our Churchmen are not so bad as their enemies do paint them; and that I have no other designe, in publishing this paper, but to stop them (as much as lies in me) from being so; knowing that prosperity is too apt to make even pious *men forget themselves, and stand in need of a friendly remembrancer.* Πολλοὶ τὸν κόρον ἐν δυνάμενοι φέρειν, *Esth.* xvi. 2, 3. *But for my part, if ever I hear this objection (which I hope I shal not) I shall think it hugely strange, that we who call our selves REFORMED, (in contradistinction to the Papists) should not be able to brook what they printed* (cum privilegio) *concerning* Reformation; *and that from this very objection it will be most clear, either that they are not so* bad, *or that we are not so* good *as we pretend; and considering our afflictions, may well afford to be. That Almighty* God of his infinite mercy may mend us all, *is the daily prayer of*

Chr. Coll. *Jun.* 11. 1661. Tho. Smith.

A SERMON OF Dr. COLET made to the CONVOCATION, in the year 1511.

YE are this day come together (Fathers and Right-wise brethren) to enter into Councel: in which, what ye will do, and what matters ye will handle, we do not yet understand. But we wish, that once remembring your name and profession, ye would minde the reformation of Ecclesiastical affairs. For assure your selves there never was more need of it, the state of the Church did never more desire your endeavours. The Spouse of Christ (whom ye would should be without spot or wrinkle) is made deformed and ill-favoured; as saith Esaias, *The faithfull city is become an harlot*, chap. 1. ver. 21. *She hath plaied the whore with many lovers*, Jer. 3. 1. whereby she

ſhe hath conceived many ſeeds of wickedneſs, and daily bringeth forth very foul fruit. Wherefore I come hither to day (Fathers) to warn you, that in this your Councel ye beſtow your whole thoughts upon the *Reformation* of the Church.

But indeed I came not willingly; being ſufficiently conſcious of my own unworthineſs; and foreſeeing how hard it will be to pleaſe the preciſe judgement of ſo many men. I eſteemed it very unmeet (almoſt too malapert) that I a *ſervant* ſhould counſel my *Lords*; that I a *ſon* ſhould teach you my *Fathers*. Truely this had been more fit for ſome one of the Fathers themſelves; that is to ſay, You *Prelates* might have done it with far more grave authority and greater wiſdome. But the command of the moſt Reverend Father and Lord the *Archbiſhop* (Preſident of this Councel) muſt be obeyed, who laid upon me this burden (which is in truth too heavie for my ſhoulders) for I remember that the prophet Samuel ſaid, *Obedience is better then ſacrifice*. Wherefore I pray and beſeech you, to ſuſtain my weakneſs with

with your goodneſs and patience: in the firſt place to help me with your good prayers. And before all things, *Let us pray to God the Father Almighty: firſt remembring our moſt holy Father the Pope, and all ſpiritual Paſtours, with all chriſten people; furthermore the moſt reverend Father and Lord the Archbiſhop, Preſident of this Councel, and all Biſhops, and all the Clergie, and all the people of England: remembring finally this your congregation; Deſiring God to inſpire your minds ſo accordingly to agree, to the benefit and fruit of the Church, that ye may not ſeem when the Councel is finiſht, to have been gathered together in vain, and without cauſe. Let us all ſay,* Pater noſter, &c.

To exhort you, Reverend Fathers, to endeavour Reformation, becauſe nothing hath ſo disfigured the face of the Church, as hath the faſhion of ſecular and worldly living in Clerks and Prieſts, I know not where more conveniently to begin my diſcourſe, then from the Apoſtle Paul (in whoſe temple ye are gathered together): for he writing to the Romanes (and under their name to you) ſaith, Rom.

Rom. xii. 2.

Be not conformed to this world, but be ye reformed by the renewing of your minde; that ye may prove what is that good will of God, well-pleasing and perfect.

THis the Apostle writ to all Christen men, but most chiefly to Priests and Bishops. Priests and Bishops are the light of the world. For he said unto them, *Ye are the light of the world:* and he said also, *If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness?* that is, If Priests and Bishops (who should be as lights) run in the dark way of the world, how dark then shall the secular people be? Wherefore S. Paul said chiefly to Priests and Bishops, *Be ye not conformed to this world, but be ye reformed.* In which words the Apostle doth two things: First he *forbids*, that we be not conformed to this world, and made carnal: and then he *commands*, that we be reformed in the spirit of God, and become spiritual.

Intend-

Intending to follow this order, I ſhall ſpeak firſt of Conformation, and then of Reformation. *Be not conformed to this world.* By the word *world*, the Apoſtle meaneth the ways and manner of ſecular living; which chiefly conſiſt in four evils of this world, that is, in devilliſh pride, carnal luſt, worldly covetouſneſs, and ſecular buſineſs. Theſe are in the world as S. John witneſſeth, 1 Epiſt. 2. 16. For he ſaith, *All that is in the world is either the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, or the pride of life.* Theſe ſame things now *are* and *reign* in the Church and Eccleſiaſtical perſons; ſo that we may ſeem truly to ſay, All that is in the Church is either the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, or pride of life.

1. And firſt to ſpeak of *pride of life.* How much greedineſs and appetite of honour and dignity is ſeen now adays in Clergy-men? How run they (yea almoſt out of breath) from one benefice to another, from the leſs to the greater, from the lower to the higher? Who ſeeth not this, and who ſeeing ſorroweth not? And moſt of thoſe which are in theſe dignities, carry

their

their heads so high, and are so stately, that they seem not to be put in the humble Bishop-rick of Christ, but rather in the high Lordship and power of the world; not knowing, or not minding what Christ the master of all meekness said unto his disciples (whom he called to be Bishops and Priests); *The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and those that be in authority have power; but do ye not so. Whosoever will be chief among you (highest in dignity) let him be your servant. The son of man came not to be ministred unto, but to minister*, Matth. 20. 25, &c. By which words our Saviour doth plainly teach, that a prelacy in the Church, is nothing else but a ministration; that an high dignity in an Ecclesiastical person, ought to be nothing but a meek service.

2. The second secular evil is carnal *concupiscence*. And hath not this vice grown and encreased in the Church so far, that in this most busie age, the far greater number of Priests minde nothing but what doth delight and please their senses? They give themselves to feasts & banquetting, spend their

their time in vain babling, are addicted to hunting and hawking, and in a word drowned in the delights of this world; diligent onely in progging for those lusts they set by. Against which sort of men S. Jude exclaims in his Epistle, saying, *Wo unto them which have gone the way of Cain: they are foul and beastly, feasting in their meats, without fear feeding themselves; flouds of the wilde sea, foaming out their own shame: unto whom the storm of darkness is reserved for everlasting.*

3. *Covetousnes* is the third secular evil, which S. John calls the *lust of the eyes*, and S. Paul, *idolatry*. This abominable pestilence hath so entred into the minds of almost all Priests, hath so blinded the eyes of their understanding, that we see nothing but that which seems to bring unto us some gain. What other thing seek we now adays in the Church, except fat benefices, and high promotions? And it were well if we minded the duty of those when we have them: but he that hath many great benefices, minds not the office of one small one; and in these high promotions,

motions, what other thing do we paſs upon, but onely our tithes and rents? We care not how vaſt our charge of ſouls be, how many or how great benefices we take, ſo they be of large value. Oh covetouſneſs, covetouſneſs! S. Paul juſtly called thee *the root of all evil*. Of thee cometh this [a] heaping of benefices upon benefices. Of thee ſo great penſions aſſigned, from many benefices reſigned. Of thee ſo much ſuing for tithes, for offerings, for mortuaries, for delapidations, by the right and title of the Church: For which things we contend as eagerly as for our lives. O covetouſneſs! of thee it comes that theſe viſitations of Biſhops are ſo chargeable. Of thee the corruptneſs of Courts, and theſe daily new inventions, wherewith the poor ſilly people are ſo vexed. Of thee cometh the beſyte and wantonneſs of [u] *Officials*. O covetouſneſs! mother of all iniquity; of thee comes this fervent ſtudie of *Ordinaries* to dilate their juriſdictions; of thee comes this peeviſh and raging contention in Ordinaries; of thee inſinuation of teſtaments;

of

of thee the undue ſequeſtration of fruits; of thee comes the ſuperſtitious obſervation of all thoſe laws that ſound to any *lucre*; ſetting aſide, and deſpiſing thoſe that concern the *amendment of manners*. What ſhould I rehearſe the reſt? To be ſhort (and to conclude at one word) all corruptneſs, all the decay of the Church, all the offences and ſcandals of the world, come from the covetouſneſs of the prieſts: according to that of S. Paul, which here I repeat again, and beat into your ears, *Covetouſneſs is the root of all evil.*

4. The fourth ſecular evil that ſpotteth the face of the Church, is *continual ſecular occupation*; wherein Prieſts and Biſhops now adays do buſie themſelves, becoming the ſervants rather of men then God, the warriours rather of this world, then of Jeſus Chriſt. For the Apoſtle Paul writeth to Timothy (2 Epiſt. ii. 3.) that no man who is a good ſouldier of Chriſt, or that warreth for God, entangleth himſelf with the affairs of this life, is turmoiled with ſecular buſineſs. The warfare of Gods ſouldier, is not carnal, but ſpiritual. Our

warring is to pray devoutly, to read and ſtudy Scriptures diligently, to preach the word of God ſincerely, to adminiſter the H. Sacraments rightly, and offer ſacrifice for the people. For we are mediatours and interceſſours unto God for men: which S. Paul witneſſeth writing to the Hebrews, *Every Biſhop*, ſaith he, *taken of men, is ordained for men in thoſe things that be unto God, that he may offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſins.* Wherefore thoſe Apoſtles, that were the firſt Prieſts and Biſhops, did ſo much abhor all manner of meddling in ſecular things, that they would not miniſter the meat that was neceſſary to poor people; although it were a great work of vertue: but they ſaid, *It is not meet that we ſhould leave the word of God and ſerve tables, we will give our ſelves continually to prayer and preaching the word of God*, Act. vi. 2, 4. And S. Paul cryes to the Corinthians, 1 Epiſt. vi. 4. *If you have judgements of things pertaining to this life, ſet them to be judges that be moſt in contempt in the Church.* Many evils doubtleſs do enſue from this ſecularity, when Clergiemen

men and Priests (leaving all spirituality) turmoyl themselves with earthly occupations.

1. First, the dignity of Priesthood is dishonoured, which is greater then either that of Kings or Emperours, equal with the dignity of Angels. But the brightness of this great dignity is sore shadowed, when Priests are employed in earthly things, whose conversation ought to be in heaven.

2. Secondly, Priesthood is despised, when there is no difference between such Priests and Lay-people; but according to the propheſie of Hosea, *As the people be, so are the priests.*

3. Thirdly, the beautifull order and holy dignity in the Church is confused, when the higheſt in the Church do meddle with vile and earthly things; and in their stead vile and abject persons do exercise high and heavenly things.

4. Fourthly, the lay-people have great occasion offered them of evils, and cause to fall; when those men whose duty it is to draw others from the affection of this

world, do by their continual converſation in this world, teach men to love the world; and by the love of the world caſt them down headlong into hell.

Moreover, in ſuch Prieſts that be ſo employed, there muſt needs follow hypocriſie. For when they be ſo mixed and confuſed with lay-people, under the garment and habit of a Prieſt, they live plainly after the lay-faſhion. And through ſpiritual weakneſs, bondage, and fear (being made weak with the waters of this world) they dare neither do nor ſay any, but ſuch things as they know to be pleaſing and gratefull to their Princes ears. At laſt, through ignorance and blindneſs (when they are blinded with the darkneſs of this world) they ſee nothing but earthly things. Wherefore our Saviour Chriſt (not without cauſe) did warn the Prelates of his Church in this manner; *Take heed to your ſelves, leſt at any time your hearts be overcharged with gluttony and drunkenneſs, and the cares of this world*, Luk. xxi. 34. The cares, ſaith he, of this world; wherewith when the hearts of Prieſts being ſore charged,

charged, they cannot minde the other life, nor lift up their ſouls to high and heavenly things. There be many other evils beſide theſe that follow of the ſecularity of Prieſts, which were long here to rehearſe: but I make an end.

Theſe be the four evils that I have ſpoken of (O Fathers, O Prieſts) by which we are conformable to this world, by which the face of the Church is made ill-favoured, by which the ſtate of it is deſtroyed; much more truly then it was in the beginning by the perſecution of *tyrants*, or afterward by the invaſion of *hereticks* that followed. For in the perſecution of tyrants, the Church being afflicted, was made ſtronger and brighter; in the invaſion of hereticks, the Church being ſhaken, was made wiſer and more skilfull in holy writ: but ſince this ſecularity was brought in, ſince the worldly manner of living crept in among Church-men, the root of all ſpiritual life (that is, *charitie*) hath been extinct: which being taken away, the Church can neither be wiſe nor ſtrong in God.

In this age we are ſenſible of the contradiction of lay-people. But they are not ſo much contrary to us, as we are to our ſelves. Their contrarineſs hurteth not us ſo much, as the contrarineſs of our own evil life; which is contrary both to God and Chriſt; who ſaid, *He that is not with me is againſt me.* We are alſo now adays troubled with hereticks (men intoxicated with ſtrange opinions) but the hereſies of them are not ſo peſtilent and pernicious to us and the people, as the *naughty lives of Prieſts*, which (if we beleeve S. Bernard) is *a kinde of hereſie; nay, the chief of all, and moſt perillous.* For that holy Father preaching in a certain Convocation to the Prieſts of his time, had theſe words in his ſermon: *Many men are Catholick in their ſpeaking and preaching, which are hereticks in their works and actions. For what the hereticks do by evil teaching, the ſame do theſe men by ill example*; viz. *they lead the people out of the right way, and bring them into errour of life. And theſe men are ſo much worſe then hereticks, by how much their works prevail more then their words.* This that holy Father

ther S. Bernard ſpoke, with a fervent ſpirit, againſt the ſect of evil Prieſts in his time. By which words he ſheweth plainly, that there be two kinds of hereſies; one ariſing from perverſe teaching, & the other from naughty life: of which two this latter is far worſe, and more perillous; reigning (now) in Prieſts, who do not live like themſelves: not prieſtly, but ſecularly, to the utter and miſerable deſtruction of the Church of God. Wherefore you Fathers, you Prieſts, and all you of the Clergy, at laſt rouze and look up from this your ſleep in this forgetfull world; and being well awaked, hear S. Paul crying unto you, *Be ye not conformed to this world.* Thus much for the firſt part. Now let us come to the ſecond.

II. Of

II. Of Reformation.

But be ye reformed by the renewing of your minde.

THe ſecond thing that S. Paul commandeth, is, *That we be reformed by the renewing of our minde, that we may prove what is that good will of God, well-pleaſing and perfect.* Let us be reformed in thoſe vices which be in us contrary to thoſe vertues I mentioned even now; that is, to meekneſs, to ſobrietie, to charity, to ſpiritual occupation: that (as the ſaid S. Paul writeth unto Titus) *Denying all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we may live ſoberly, righteouſly, and vertuouſly in this preſent world.*

This reformation and reſtoring of the Churches eſtate muſt needs [b] begin of you our *Fathers*, and ſo follow in us your *Prieſts*, and in all the Clergy. You are the *heads*, you are an *example* of living to us; upon you we look as upon marks of our

our direction. In you and in your lives we desire to read (as in lively books) how, and after what manner we ought to live; wherefore if you will consider, and pull out the motes that be in our eyes, first cast out the beam out of your own eyes. 'Tis an old proverb, *Physician heal thy self*; Let me beseech you, spiritual Physicians, first to take your selves this purgation of manners, and then afterwards offer us the same to take.

Now the way whereby the Church may be reformed into a better fashion, is *not to make new laws*: there be already laws enough, if not too many. *Nothing is new under the sun*, as saith Solomon, Eccl. 1. 9. For the evils that are now in the Church, were before in times past; and there is no fault committed among us, for which our fore-fathers have not provided very good remedies. There are no trespasses, but there be remedies against thē in the body of the Canon law. 'Tis not needfull then that *new* laws, and *new* constitutions be made, but that those which are made already be *well kept* and put in execution.

Where

Wherefore, I pray you, let those canons and laws which are made be called for, and rehearsed before you, in this your assembly: those canons I mean that restrain *vice*, and those that further *vertue*.

First, let those canons be rehearsed, that do warn you, O Fathers, [c] *not to lay hands suddenly on any man*; not to be too facile in admitting into holy Orders. For here lies the original and spring-head of all our mischiefs, that the gate of Ordination is too broad, the entrance too wide and open; every man that offers himself is admitted every where without putting back. Hence comes it that we have such a multitude of priests, who have little learning and less piety. In my judgement, it is not enough for a priest to construe a collect, to put forth a question, to answer a sophism; but *an honest, a pure, a holy life is much more necessary*, approved manners, competent learning in holy Scripture, some knowledge of the Sacraments. But *chiefly and above all things, the fear of God and love of heavenly life*.

Let the canons be rehearsed, which com-

command that [d] benefices of the Church be given onely to those that are *worthy*, & that promotions be made by the right balance of *vertue*, not by neareſt [q] *kinred* or carnal *affection*, or acception of perſons: whereby it happeneth now adays, that boyes, and fools, and ill-livers do reign and rule in the Church, in ſtead of *old* men, and *wiſe*, and *good*.

To this end, let the canons be rehearſed, which forbid and oppoſe the dirt of [e] *Simony*. Which corruption, which infection, which cruel and deteſtable peſtilence, doth now creep abroad like a canker in the minds of Prieſts; ſo that in theſe days many are not afraid, by entreaty and ſervile attendances, by rewards and promiſes, to procure to themſelves great dignities.

Let the canons be rehearſed, that command perſonal [f] *reſidence of Curates* in their Churches. For of this many evils grow, becauſe all Offices now adays are performed by Vicars and Pariſh-prieſts; yea, and thoſe fooliſh and unmeet, oftentimes wicked: that ſeek nothing among the laity

but

but filthy lucre, whereof cometh occasion of evil heresies, and ill christendome in the people.

Let the canons be rehearsed, which concern the lives of you Fathers, and the honesty of us Priests: which forbid a clergie-man to meddle in [g] *merchandise*, that he be no [h] *usurer*, no [i] *hunter*, no common [k] *gamer* or player, that he bear no [l] *weapon*.

The canons that forbid clergy-men to haunt [k] *taverns*, that forbid them to have suspected familiarity with women. The canons that command sobriety, moderation in [m] apparel, and temperance in adorning the body.

And to, my Lords, these Monkes, Prebends, and Religious men, let the canons be rehearsed, which command them to go the straight way that leads to heaven, leaving the broad way of the world: which command them not to turmoil themselves in *businesse*, neither [n] *secular* nor other: which command that they do not [*] lay plots.]* sow in Princes Courts for earthly things. For it is decreed in the first Councel

Προσέχειν μόνοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς προσευχῆς, &c. Can. 4. & 7. Councel of Calcedon, *That Monkes ought onely to give themselves to prayer & fasting, and to the chastizing of the flesh, and observing of their rules.*

Above all things, let the canons be rehearsed that appertain to you, my Reverend Fathers and Lord-bishops; laws concerning your *just and* [b] *canonical election* in the Chapters of your churches, calling upon the holy Ghost. For because those canons are not obeyed now adays (but Prelates are chosen oftentimes more by the favour of men, then by the grace of God) hence truly it comes to pass, that we have not seldome Bishops who have little spirituality in them; men rather worldly then heavenly, savouring more the spirit of this world, then the spirit of Christ.

Let the canons be rehearsed of the [c] *residence of Bishops in their Dioceses*; which command that they look diligently to the health of souls, that they sow the word of God, that they shew themselves in their Churches, at least on great holy-days; that they *officiate in their own persons*,

ſons, and do ſacrifice for their people, that they hear the cauſes and matters of poor men; that they ſuſtain fatherleſs children and widows, and exerciſe themſelves in works of vertue.

Let the canons be rehearſed concerning the *right beſtowing of the* ℘ *patrimonie of Chriſt:* the canons which command that the goods of the Church be ſpent not in coſtly building, not in ſumptuous apparel and pompes, not in feaſting and banqueting, not in exceſs and wantonneſs, not *in* ℘ *enriching of kinsfolk*, not in keeping of hounds; but in things profitable and neceſſary for the Church. For when S. Auguſtine the Monk (once Biſhop of England) asked Pope Gregory, how the Biſhops and Prelates in England ſhould ſpend their goods, which were the offerings of faithfull people; the ſaid Pope anſwered (and his anſwer is put into the decrees, *cap.* 12. *quæſt.* 2.) *That the goods of the Biſhops ought to be divided into four parts; whereof one part ought to be for the Biſhop and his houſhold, another to his poorer Clergie-men, the third to repair and uphold*

hold his tenements, the fourth to poor people.

Let the Canons be rehearſed (yea, and that oftentimes) which take away the filthineſs and *corruption of your* "*Courts*, which take away thoſe daily new-found crafts for lucre: which effectually pull away this foul *covetouſneſs*, which is the ſpring and cauſe of all the evils that we feel; the fountain of all iniquitie.

Laſtly, let thoſe canons and conſtitutions of our fore-fathers be renewed, which concern the *celebration of* [r] *Councels*; which appoint Provincial Synods to be oftener uſed for the Reformation of the Church. Becauſe there never happens any thing more hurtfull to the Church of Chriſt, then the lack of Councels, both general and provincial.

When theſe Canons are rehearſed (and ſuch others as concern us and the [s] *correction of our manners*) nothing will be lacking, but that the ſame be put in execution with all authority and power. That once (ſeeing we have a law) we live according to the law. For which things,

with

with all due reverence, I call chiefly upon you Fathers (for this execution of the canons, and obſerving of the conſtitutions, muſt needs begin at you) that ye may teach us Prieſts to follow you, by lively examples: or elſe truly it will be ſaid of you, *They lay grievous burdens upon other mens backs, but they themſelves will not as much as touch them with their little finger*, Matth. xxiii. 4.

For indeed if you keep the laws, and firſt reform your own lives to the rules of the canon-laws, then ſhall ye give us light (in which we may ſee what is to be done on our part) that is to ſay, the light of your good example. And we ſeeing our Fathers ſo keep the laws, will gladly follow their ſteps.

The Clergie and Spiritual men being thus once reformed in the Church, we may then with a juſt order proceed to the reformation of the t laities part: which truly will be very eaſily done if we be firſt reformed our ſelves. For the body follows the ſoul, and ſuch as the Rulers in the city be, ſuch are the inhabitants.

Where-

Wherefore if Prieſts that have the charge of ſouls be good, the people will ſtraight be good too. Our goodneſs will teach them far more clearly and effectually to be good, then all other teachings and preachings whatſoever: our goodneſs ſhall *compell* them into the right way, truly more powerfully, then all your ſuſpenſions, excommunications, and curſings.

Wherefore if ye will have the lay-people to live after *your* wiſh and will, firſt live you your ſelves after the *will of God*; and ſo (truſt me) ye ſhall effect in them whatſoever ye would.

Ye would be obeyed by them: and 'tis fit ye ſhould (for theſe are the words of S. Paul to the lay-people, Heb. xiii. 17. *Obey them that have rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves:*) But if you will have this obedience; firſt do you perform within your ſelves that which is the reaſon and cauſe why they ought to obey you, which the ſaid S. Paul teacheth (and it follows in the text) *viz. Take you heed diligently as thoſe that muſt give a reckoning for their*

ſouls, and they will obey you.

Ye would be honoured of the people: and reaſon good (for S. Paul writes to Timothy, that the *Prieſts who rule well are worthy of double honour, eſpecially they who labour in the word and teaching*, 1 Tim. iii. 17.) But if you deſire to be honoured, firſt look that you rule well, and that you labour in word and teaching: and then ſhall the people have you in *all* honour.

Ye would reap their carnal things, and gather tithes and offerings without contention; and it is very fit (for S. Paul writing to the Romanes, ſaith, *It is their duty to miniſter unto you in carnal things*, Rom. xv. 27.) But you ought firſt to ſow your ſpiritual things, & then ye ſhall reap plentifully their carnal things: For truly that man is very hard and unjuſt, that will reap where he never did ſow, and deſires to gather where he never ſcattered.

Ye would have the Churches libertie, and not be drawn before ſecular Judges, this alſo is reaſonable (for it is in the Pſalms, *Touch not mine anointed*, Pſal. cv. 15.) But if ye deſire this libertie, firſt

first unloose your selves from the worldly bondage, from trucking with the world, and from the vile services of men; and lift up your selves to the true libertie, the spiritual libertie of Christ; place your hearts and affections upon his service which is perfect freedome, serve you God, and reign in him: And then (beleeve me) the people will not touch the anointed of their Lord God.

Ye would be out of busines, in rest and peace; and that is convenient: But if ye would have peace, return to the God of peace and love. Come again to Christ (in whom is true peace, which passeth all understanding) come again to your selves, and to your *priestly* living. And (to make an end) as S. Paul saith, *Be ye reformed by the renewing of your minde, that ye may savour the things that be of God, and the peace of God shall be with you.*

Thus have I recited to you (Reverend Fathers, and right famous men) the particulars which I thought fit to be spoke for the reformation of Ecclesiastical affairs. I trust you will take all (out of your gentle-

neſs) in good part. If peradventure it be thought that I have paſſed my bounds in this ſermon, or have ſaid any thing out of temper, forgive it me; and ye ſhall forgive a man ſpeaking out of meer zeal, a man *heartily* lamenting the decay of the Church: and conſider the thing it ſelf, not regarding any fooliſhneſs. Conſider the miſerable condition and ſtate of the Church, and endeavour your ſelves with all your ſouls and abilities to reform it.

Suffer not, Fathers, this your great Convocation to depart in vain; ſuffer not this your congregation to be for no end. Truly ye are gathered oftentimes together, but (by your favour to ſpeak the truth) I ſee not yet what good cometh of your aſſembling, namely to the Church.

Go ye now in the Spirit that ye have called upon, that by the help of it ye may in this your Councel finde out, decree, and ordain thoſe things that may be profitable to the *Church*, a praiſe unto *You*, and an honour to *God*; unto whom be all honour and glory now and for ever. Amen.

The End.

Dr. *Hen. Hammonds* petition and advice to the *Convocation.*

IT is now my publick solemn PETITION both to God and man, That 1 the power of the keys, and the exercise of that power, 2 the due use of confirmation, and (previous to that) 3 examination and triall of youth, 4 a strict search into the manners, and tempers, and sufficiencies of those that are to be admitted into holy Orders, and 5 to be licentiate for publick preachers, 6 the visitation of each parish in each Diocess, and 7 the exercise of Church discipline upon all offenders, together with 8 painfull, mature, and sober preaching, and 9 catechizing, 10 studies of all kinds and parts of Theological learning (languages, controversies, writings of the schools, and Casuists, &c.) may be so far taken into consideration by our LAW-MAKERS, and so far considered in the collating of Church preferments

ments and dignities: So much of duty required in Clergy-men, and so little left arbitrary or at large, that every Church preferment in this kingdome, may have such a due burden annexed to it, that no ignorant person shall be able, no lazy or luxurious person willing or forward to undergo it. *Considerations of present use concerning Church-government, pag.* 12. printed by *R. Royston*, 1644.

The same Dr. Hammond *in his third sermon, p.* 74. *printed* 1649. *hath these words: Shall one take up a snare from the earth, and take nothing at all?* Amos iii. 5. that is, Shall God remove his judgements from a nation, while the sins are still at high water? Infallibly he will not do it. If he do, 'tis a sad presage that his soft hand is but absolute desertion; the leaving us to our selves, is the giving us up to our bloudiest enemies, that unseasonable heaven is the far worse Tophet of the twain.

Let but the present calamities work the cure on us, and then all the *Canaans* in the world are ready at hand to perfect it; the old flourishing *England*, hid under that heap

heap of thunderbolts, is ready to be our *bath* & *palæstra* once again, to refresh and confirm what was thus acquired, and to beget a whole treasure of health in us. But til then, prosperity is *quite beside the purpose*, a mere ignorant Emperick prescription, which hath nothing of purging or medicinal in it. Should it be administred, it would never reform or convert any.

The beast that is not tamed or humbled by the whip or goad, the rich pasture in all reason will never break or work on. The libertie of the field is a new temptation; & that plenty strengthens for a sturdier resistance: and both libertie and plentie, respite and peace are apt to be mistaken for a reward of former stubbornesses, far from any restraint of them. Will you see this exemplified in the most eminent stories of deliverances and prosperities that the Scripture takes notice of, that will enforce the conclusion *à majori*? You have *Lot* of *Sodom*, and *Noah* of the *old world*, (the remnant preserved from that double deluge of fire and water) as soon as they are landed in their fair

havens, the same calm shipwracks both; and their prosperity is branded in holy Writ, for the mother of their two bestial sins, *incest* and *drunkenness*. Look back from thence to Eden; & there that happy at once and innocent pair, are not by plenty secured from coveting, &c. *Pag.* 78. The Hermites indeed in Theodosius the youngers time, left their solitude, and came to study perfection in the Kings palace; but sure it was because they were (or else conceived themselves to be) advanced to a spiritual height, and so came out to practise in these *agones*, that is, not because there were conceived to be less, but more temptations. And yet even for such, I should not be over-forward to commend the design. Without question the still privacy had been the more prudent course. For so *Licetus* that tells us of some lamps which under ground continued for 1600 years, concludes his observation, that *as soon as ever they were brought forth into open air, they went out immediately.* And I need not tell you, how many zealous, burning, or fair-shining

vota-

votaries the world hath had, whose imprisoned, retired, cloystered piety hath done so too. And do not think that it is an appetite to other mens possessions, or an insidious praising of a lost treasure (that so they that have taken it up may return it again) if I tell you (that which it is not *these* times have taught me) That affluence and abundance of riches, of ease, or even peace it self, is generally no safe commodity; There is not one of a hundred but is less *Christian* for it, *Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked, &c.*

And a little after, urging us to repentance and reformation of our manners under the rod, he saith thus, Till somewhat be done this way (*MORE* then hitherto hath been done) peace may hover over our heads (expres its willingnes to light upon us) but *ad candida tecta columbæ*, that dove will not enter or dwell where purity hath not prepared a room for her; or if she should so unlearn her own humour, 'twere danger she would turn vultur, that most desirable blessing would prove our fatalest curse; leave us in and to a state of all impurities,

purities, to deprecate and curſe thoſe mercies that have betrayed us to ſuch irreverſible miſeries.

In like manner the ſame Dr. Hammond *concludes his tract of late Repentance, thus,* The onely courſe that a whole SYNOD and aſſembly of *Angels* could upon *conſultation* adviſe us to (and promiſe it proſperous for the averting of ruine from the land) is, ſo to improve our *ſorrow* above the *occaſion* of it (the afflictions that are upon us) as that it may be a *ſorrow for* * *ſins*, purely for ſins: and then that ſorrow bring forth ſuch a change of minde as may prove *immutable* upon Gods allowing us a time of reſpite, bring forth *fruits of repentance* worthy of ſuch *reprieval*. When the whole heart of this kingdome (or of that part of it that ſtill cleaves to the houſe of David) is thus ſmitten and really affected by Gods rod (ſo that He to whom all things are naked, may pronounce it a ſincere hearty change) *then* will there be a place of *hope*, aſſured *hope:* then may the Prieſt intercede with confidence, *Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach;* and the *Hearer of Prayers* will be obliged by that his title to anſwer that impor-

* Some of theſe ſins he names in his ſermons, as p. 174. Swearing, adultery, drunkenneſs, heartleſs and zeal-leſs behaviour in the houſe of God. What cold addreſſes, what wandring eyes & thoughts, what yawning in ſtead of ſighing out our parts of it, what abſolute indifference (if God will take our witneſs) whether we be heard or no?

Thus in the Preface to his Vindication of the Liturgie, *Sect. 8. he ſaith,* Our ſo long abuſe of this ſo continued a mercy (*of enjoying the Common-Prayer*) our want of diligence in *aſſembling our ſelves together* (the too ordinary fault of too many of the beſt of us) our general ſcandalous, & inexcuſable disobedience to the commands of the Church (which require that Service to be uſed conſtantly in publick every day) the vanity of prurient tongues, and itching ears which are ſtill thirſting new

turnin

tunity. But till this Rod of the Lord be thus heard, all hope in God for *mercy* to the land, or for *victory* (though to the juſteſt *cauſe* that ever man eſpouſed) will be little better then *preſumption.*

and variety; but ABOVE ALL, the want of ardour and fervencie in the performance of this preſcribed ſervice, the admitting of all ſecular company I mean worldly thoughts) into its preſence, preferring all ſecular buſineſs before it; the general irreverence and indifference in the celebrations, may well be thought to have encouraged Satan to his *expetivit*, to the preferring his petition to God, and his importunity at length to have provoked God to deliver up our Liturgie to him and his miniſters, for them to oppoſe and malign, to calumniate & deſame, and at laſt to gain the countenance of an Ordinance to condemn and execute it. The Lord be merciſull to them that have yeelded to be inſtrumental to that great *deſtroyer* in this buſineſs. *Thus* Dr. Hammond. *And are we not as bad, or worſe in all this now then formerly? Are not many of thoſe who pretended 16 years together, to lang and pray for the reſtoring of our Litwgy, now as negligent in coming to it, and as key-cold in devotion when they do come to it, as any other whoſoever?* But let us return to Dr. *Hammonds Sermons.*

Pag. 100. Till this [*reformation of life*] be done, every minute we breathe we ſuck in poyſon, we run upon all the ſpears and cannons in the world. Nay, if God ſhould hear us before we have anſwered him, if *mercy* ſhould interpoſe, before repentance and reformation make us capable of it; that very *mercy* were to be deprecated as the greateſt judgement in the world, a kinde of hell of deſertion, a [*why ſhould ye be ſmitten any more?*] a not vouchſafing us the medicinal ſtripes, a delivering us up to our ſelves, as to the fataleſt revenge-

fulleſt

fulleſt executioners. God may *ſpare* us in wrath, relieve us in fury, give us a *treacherous* ſettlement, a *palliate* peace, the ſaddeſt preſage and fore-runner imaginable. And ſuch it is ſure to be if the ſurface of the fleſh be healed, before the βάθος καρδίας, the depth of the wound in the heart be ſearched and mollified; if God repent before we repent. And againſt ſuch mercies we have more reaſon to pray, then againſt all the πυρώσεις and inteſtine flames (all the Tophets, and purgatories, and hells) that the fury of men or devils can kindle within our coaſts. The ſame motive that made S. *Baſil* call for his *fever* again (to wit, if the recovering of his health were the reflouriſhing of his pride) may move us to pray for the continuance of this State-feaver, till our impenitent hearts be humbled.

I will make you my *Confeſſours*; Till this Kingdome be really and viſibly the better for ſtripes, I cannot (without ſome regrets, ſome fears of uncharitableneſs) pray abſolutely for peace for it.

Lord purge us, Lord cleanſe us with thy

thy ſharp infuſions; Cure and heal our ſouls by theſe cauſticks of thine; and then thou mayſt ſpare that charge, pour in thy wine and oyl in ſtead of them: But till then, *Domine, nolumus indulgentiam hanc*, Lord, we are afraid of thy indulgence, we are undone if thou be too merciſull: we tremble to think of our ſad condition, if thou ſhouldſt give over thy cure too early; if thou ſhouldſt tear off our plaiſters and our fleſh together, reſtore our flouriſhing before thou haſt humbled and changed our ſouls.

*Thus he ends his fourth ſermon: and in like manner he ends his laſt, p.*257. &261. *ſaying*, I ſhall from hence be able to pronounce dogmatically, that ſhould ſuch a fate befall us (either the Nation in general, or any of us in particular) that is, ſhould there be a reſpite of the rod, before any laying down of the ſins that called for it (a ceſſation of arms betwixt heaven and earth, before a ceſſation of hoſtilities between earth and heaven) this were as the *laſt*, ſo the *worſt* of evils; a calm to be dreaded beyond all the loudeſt tempeſts.

peſts. *What would this prophetick Saint have ſaid, if he had lived two moneths longer, who writ all this near twenty years ſince?*

I ſhall conclude all with the words of Biſhop *Andrews*, in his *Conciones ad Clerum*, pag. 14. *Nos ipſi ſumus, & apud nos hîc multi ſunt qui ſacra devorant. Nam (quod non nemo è nobis facit) per otium & ignaviam hîc fucorum inſtar obtorpeſcere, bonas horas malè perdere, luxu diffluere, comeſſationibus, ludis, nugis, vacare, hæc facere, & tamen ex iis quæ ſacris uſibus dicata ſunt, nos ſaginare, id demum eſt ex Chriſti ſententia* κατεσθίειν, *devorare, & dilapidare paternam rem.*

Propiùs adhuc accedam: Prioris illius (ſacrilegii) partem magnam fluxiſſe à nobis hinc: Ideò ab alienis ſacra vorantur, quia vorantur à nobis. Perinde enim ſibi licere res ſacras legere, rem ſacram negligere ac nobis. Et quidem (quod valde vereor) qui nunc tondent lanam, pellem cum lana deglubent; qui nunc arrodunt Eccleſiæ bona plenis tandem faucibus abſument, niſi detur à Deo nobis mens melior.

Pag. 29. *Et eſt in vobis cura, eſt attentio veſtri;*

vestri; quis negat? Satis enim Vos vobis *tendere & rei vestræ,* populi *vox est; satis Vos strenuè,* ditandis filiis, dotandis filiabus *attendere, &c. Attendere hoc quidem est, sed vereor ut Pauli sit.* His text is, *Act.* xx. 28.

Pag. 31. *Scio ego vos advertisse Statum hunc atque Ordinem nostrum (Ecclesiasticum) non tam à politicis legibus, quàm ab hominum conscientiis momentum habere atque vim suam: quibus nisi vos commendare in conspectu Dei, & in quibus nisi* venerationem internam *lucrari detur (quam pia nobis vita conciliabit) frustra nobis faverit, frustra caverit lex ulla. Si remittitis hac in parte attentionem vestram, si doctrina ludibrium est, si vita scandalum; fortasse non momento uno, non ictu oculi, sed sensim tamen senescet, evanescet, tendet ad interitum Ordo vester,* διὰ τὸ ἀδυνὲς αὐτῦ καὶ ἀνωφελές.

Ibid. *Enimverò, nisi vos vobis hac parte caveatis, optimi Principis gratia, Procerum favor, Legum terror diu vobis cavere non poterunt. Intelligentibus loquor.*

FINIS.

[a] *Heaping of benefices.*] *Parkerus*, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, in libro *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, Hanoviæ edito*, 1605, *pag.* 208. *lin.* 51. *hæc habet*: Diximus antè à Johanne Peckam Cant. Archiepiscopo fuisse constitutum, ut Clerici plura beneficia non tenerent, sed uno contenti sint: deinde, ut in beneficiis residerent. Hujúsque constitutionis hæc fuit sanctio; quòd secundi beneficii apphehensâ possessione, vel perceptis fructibus, vacaret ipso jure primum; tum si possessor presbyter non ordinaretur, vacaret etiam simili modo beneficium; & non residentes ad residentiam moniti privarentur, júsque præsentandi denuò ad Patronum rediret. Quæ Johannis constitutio à Lugdunensi Concilio profecta est, sub Gregorio decimo celebrata, de quo Polychronicon hoc versu affirmat:

Gregorius denus congregat omne genus.

Decretalium Gregorii 9. *l.* 1. *De electione, &c. tit.* 6. *cap.* 54. *pag.* 74. *edit. Francfurt.* 1586. Unde cùm in eodem concilio sit statutum, ut quicunque receperit aliquod beneficium curam animarum habens annexam, si priùs tale beneficium obtinebat, eo sit ipso jure privatus: & si forte illud retinere contenderit, etiam alio spolietur. Prædictus electus contra hujusmodi veniens statuta, transgressionis notam nec non cupiditatis vitium (quod in aliis reprobare debuerat) ex pluralitate beneficiorum incurrit, & retinendo beneficia quæ non spectabant ad ipsum (cùm post receptionem alterius, priora beneficia vacaverint ipso jure) rem contrectavit per consequens alienam, & sic furtum commisit quodammodo vel rapinam. In suæ salutis & multarum animarum dispendium prædictas parochiales Ecclesias retinebat cum earum cura, qua jam privatus fuerat ipso jure, ad eum nullatenus pertineret: & sic per ipsum eædem animæ damnabiliter sunt deceptæ.

Ibid. l. 3. *De clericis non residentibus. Tit.* 4. *cap.* 3 *p.* 418. Quia nonnulli modum avaritiæ non imponentes, dignitates diversas Ecclesiasticas, & plures ecclesias parochiales,

ales, contra ſacrorum inſtituta nituntur accipere, ut cùm unum officium vix implere ſufficiant, ſtipendia ſibi vendicent plurimorum: nè id de cætero fiat diſtrictius inhibemus. Cùm igitur eccleſia vel eccleſiaſticũ miniſterium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc perſona quæratur, quæ reſidere in loco, & curam ejus per ſeipſam valeat exercere. Quod ſi aliter actum fuerit, & qui receperit, quod contra ſacros canones accepit, amittat; & qui dederit, largiendi poteſtate privetur.

Ibid. l. 3. De præbendis & dignitat. tit. 5. c. 5. pag. 423. Quia in tantum quorundam proceſſit ambitio, ut non duas vel tres, ſed plures eccleſias perhibeantur habere, cùm nec duabus poſſint debitam proviſionem impendere; Per fratres & coepiſcopos noſtros hoc emendari præcipimus: & de multitudine [* præbendarum] canonibus inimica, quę diſſolutionis materiam & evagationis inducit, certúmq; continet periculum animarum, eorum qui eccleſiis deſervire valeant, indigentiam volumus ſublevari.

* *Vox* præbendarum *non eſt in antiquis, nec in Concilio.*

Conſtitutio Othoboni, De inſtitutionibus & collat. mihi, pag. 56, & 99. edit. Londini, 1557. Chriſtianæ religionis unitas ità pleroſque in ſuorum cordium elatione reliquit, ut cùm animæ ſuæ curæ vix unuſquiſque ſufficiat, ipſi ſe plures eſſe mendace ſtaterâ penſantes, non ſolùm unius beneficii, &c. Ex his autem dicere non ſufficimus quanta mala proveniunt eccleſiæ. Namque maculatur honeſtas, annihilatur autoritas, fides Chriſti proſternitur, charitas exulat, ſpes pauperum deperit, eò quòd apertum vident os divitis & potentis, in quod intrat omne beneficium vacaturum. Quod ſuum non eſt peccator miſer & cœcus (Rectorem ſe jactans) non tam recipit quàm furatur. Inter ipſos quoque divites contentiones & ſcandala oriuntur, lites & odia conſoventur. Dignè etiam ſuper hujuſmodi regnorum homines divinæ indignationis exarſiſſe ignem, & ob aliquorum delicta, in omnes miſiſſe vindictam, ex hoc

præcipuè formidamus: & dum nihil aliud ità periculis plenum conſpicimus, talia vel graviora etiam pertimeſcimus in futurum, niſi Dei miſericordia nos reſpiciens, apponat remedium ſalutare.

Add to this a clauſe in an Act of Parl. which was made in the ſame year that this Sermon of Dr. Colets was preached. 21. *Hen.* 8. *c.* 13. Be it enacted, That if any perſon, having one benefice with cure of ſouls, being of the yearly value of 8 pounds or above, accept and take any other with cure of ſouls (and be inſtituted and inducted in poſſeſſion of the ſame) that then and immediately after ſuch poſſeſſion had thereof, the firſt benefice ſhall be adjudged in law to be void: And that it ſhall be lawfull to every Patron having the advowſon thereof to preſent another; and the preſentee to have the benefit of the ſame in ſuch like manner and form, as though the incumbent had died or reſigned: any licence, union, or other diſpenſation to the contrary hereof notwithſtanding And that every ſuch licence, union, or diſpenſation, had or hereafter to be obtained contrary to this preſent Act (of what name or names, qualitie or qualities, ſoever they be) ſhall be utterly void and of none effect. *See my note* [c].

Bp. Jewel in Hag 1.2. (*pag.* 181. *edit.* 1611.) O that Aggeus the Prophet were now alive, and ſaw the rearing up of Gods Temple here in England! What think you he would ſay? *You build your own houſes and leave the houſe of God forſaken?* Nay, he would ſay, You build your own manſions, and pull down the houſe of God. The Maſters of the work, build benefice upon benefice, and Deanery upon Deanery, as though Rome were yet in England.

[b] *Begin of you our Fathers*] See *Librum quorundam Canonum, anno* 1571. De Epiſcopis, Decanis Eccleſiarum, de Archidiaconis, de Cancellariis, &c. *which beginneth thus,* OMNES Epiſcopi diligenter docebunt evangelium, non tantùm in Eccleſiis cathedralibus qui-

bus

bus præsunt, sed etiam passim per omnes Ecclesias suæ cujusque dioeceseos, ubi maximè putabunt expedire.

Perhaps it will not be amiss to hear what the Councel of Trent saith on this subject. There are in the 25 Session of it 21 chapters concerning Reformation; the first whereof is this: Optandum est, ut ii qui episcopale ministerium suscipiunt, quæ suæ sint partes, agnoscant; ac se non ad propria commoda, non ad divitias aut luxum, sed ad labores & solicitudines pro Dei gloria vocatos esse intelligant. Nec enim dubitandum est, & fideles reliquos ad religionem innocentiámque faciliùs inflammandos, si Præpositos suos viderint non ea quæ mundi sunt, sed animarum salutem ac cœlestem patriam cogitantes. Hæc cùm ad restituendam Ecclesiasticam disciplinam præcipua esse sancta Synodus animadvertat; admonet Episcopos omnes, ut secum ea sæpe meditantes, factis etiam ipsis ac vitæ actionibus (quod est veluti perpetuum quoddam prædicandi genus) se muneri suo conformes ostendant. In primis verò ità mores suos omnes componant, ut reliqui ab eis frugalitatis, modestiæ, continentiæ, ac (quæ nos tantopere commendat Deo) sanctæ humilitatis exempla petere possint. Quapropter, exemplo patrum nostrorum in Concilio Carthaginensi, non solùm jubet, ut Episcopi modestâ supellectili, & mensâ, ac frugali victu contenti sint; verùm etiam in reliquo vitæ genere, ac totâ ejus domo caveant, nè quid appareat, quod à sancto hoc instituto sit alienum; quódque non simplicitatem, Dei zelum, ac vanitatum contemptum præ se ferat. Omnino verò eis interdicit, nè ex reditibus Ecclesiæ consanguineos, familiarésve suos augere studeant: cùm & Apostolorum Canones prohibeant, nè res Ecclesiasticas, quæ Dei sint, consanguineis donent; sed, si pauperes sint, iis, ut pauperibus distribuant; eos autem non distrahant, nec dissipent illorum causâ. Imò, quàm maximè potest, eos sancta Synodus monet, ut omnem humanum hunc erga fratres, nepotes, propinquóq; carnis affectum

(unde multorum malorum in Ecclesia seminarium exstat) penitus deponant. Quæ verò de Episcopis dicta sunt, eadem in *quibuscunque* beneficia Ecclesiastica obtinentibus observari decernit, &c. *Thus far the Councel of Trent:* See large notes on this, *edit. Col.* 1533. *Rob Parsons the Jesuit, in his* memorial for reformation, *part.* 1. *c.* 2. *saith this of it;* Quando ultimamente se celebro el SS°, Concilio de Trento, viniendo a tratar de la Reformacion de las costumbres &c. When at last the holy Councel of Trent was celebrated, the Fathers coming to debate the amendmentof manners (although it desired to make a perfect reformation in the Universal Church) they were constrained onely to establish some things which they beleeved ought to be received in the whole Church; and such things as those times (being so much vitiated and corrupted) would permit. Just as a prudent Physician endeavours wholy to apply himself to the disposition, fansie, and strength of his patient; though perhaps the infirmity may require a stronger cure. -- For though they saw very well, that many things of greater perfection and severity might have been decreed, which some holy men propounded; yet they desired onely to establish some things that were most necessary, and which they judged to be most convenient, according to the disposition of the time, and likely to be most easily received by all men, &c. *See more to the same purpose in the same* memorial, *par.* 2. *c.* 1, *&* 2. *and in Parsons description of the person and family of a Bishop, and his relation of* John Davila's *petition to the said Councel,* ibid. *He who desires to read a Dr. of the Romane Church on this subject, and cannot meet with* Parsons memorial, *may peruse and blush at* Granada's *sermon at the Consecration of a Bishop (upon* Joh. xxi. 15.) *tom.* 2. *p.* 1395. *in his works printed at* Cullein, 1628. *The sayings of Fathers are numerous to this purpose; but I cannot forget one passage of* S. Chrysostome, *who saith,* (in Heb. xiii. 17. hom. 34. p. 602.

lin.

lin. 28. *edit. Savil.*) *that he should wonder if any Bishop can be saved,* Θαυμάζω εἰ τινά ἐστι τῶν ἀρχόντων σωθῆναι, &c. You who are a Bishop, *saith he,* shall give an account for all the men women and children that are under you. If Aaron (though drawn by necessity to it) came into danger; and if Moses was in peril (though he oft refused); and Saul (to whom the principality of another was committed after he had denied it) fell into danger, because he managed it ill; how much more shall they perish which strive for rule, and rush upon it. *Thus* Chrysostome: (*See more in* hom. 1. ad 2. Epist. ad Tim.) *Which Father hath so many and so good directions, not onely for Bishops, but also for all Clergy-men, in his books* De sacerdotio, *that I have oft wisht (publickly and privately) that all such as enter into holy Orders were first enjoyned to read them over, that they may understand what they undertake.* See note (q.)

c *Not to lay hands suddenly.*] 1 *Tim.* v. 22. Sacer ordo est eò dignius conferendus, quò ab ordinato cætera Sacramenta conferuntur. Quare cùm periculosum sit nimis minus dignos, idiotas, illegitimos, irregulares, illiteratos, & extraneos, aut sine titulo certo & vero aliquos ordinari: Statuimus ut ante collationem ordinum per Episcopum, de his omnibus indagatio diligens habeatur. Et nè reprobatis approbandis, & qui non fuerint approbandi approbatis, clanculo asserere se valeant reprobati, in examinatione scribantur numerus & nomina probatorum. *Constitutio Othonis, pag.* 5.

Εἰ τινες ἀνεξετάστως προσήχθησαν πρεσβύτεροι--- τούτους ὁ κανὼν οὐ προσίεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀνεπίληπτον ἐκδικεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Siqui sine examinatione presbyteri promoti sint ---- tales canon non admittit: quod enim est reprehensibile, Catholica ecclesia non defendit. *Concilii Nic.* 1. *can.* 9.

d *Benefices to those that are worthy.*] *It is the* 76th *Apostolical Canon,* That a Bishop ought not to give preferments to gratifie his brother, or his son, or any kinsman:

man: nor to let humane affection interpose in his dispensing the goods of the Church; nor to confer Ecclesiastical goods upon his heirs. If he do so, the ordination is void, and the Bishop himself is to be excommunicated. *Vide Constitutionem Othonis*, nè indigni promoveantur, &c. *And see much to this purpose in Spalato De repub. l. 9. c. 10. § 12, 13* &c.

The *Bishop* before he admit any person into holy Orders, shall diligently examine him in the presence of those Ministers that shall assist him at the imposition of hands, &c. And if any Bishop or Suffragan shall admit any to sacred Orders, who is not so qualified and examined as before we have ordained, the Arch-bishop of the province being assisted by one Bishop shall suspend the said Bishop or Suffragan so offending, from making either Deacons or Priests for the space of two years. *Canon. Eccles. anno 1603. num. 35.*

Ibid. num. 34. No man is to be ordained, except he bring letters of his good life and conversation under the seal of some Colledge in Cambridge or Oxford, or three or four grave Ministers, together with the subscription of other credible persons, who have known his life and behaviour by the space of THREE years next before. *Here I cannot but annex a very seasonable piece of advice of M^r. Hooker, to all Masters and Fellows of Colledges, Eccl Pol. lib. 5. §. ult. pag. penult.* I end with a request and most earnest suit; First, that they who give Ordination, would (as they tender the very honour of J. Christ, and safety of men, and the endless good of their own souls) take heed, lest unnecessarily and through their default the Church be found worse, or less furnished then it might be. Secondly, that they which by right of *Patronage* have power to present unto spiritual livings (and may in that respect much damnifie the Church of God) would for the ease of their own account in that dreadfull day, somewhat consider what it is to betray for *gain* the souls

souls which Christ hath redeemed with *bloud*; what to violate the sacred bond of *fidelity* and *solemn promise* given at the first to *God* and his *Church* by them, from whose original interest, together with the self-same Title of right, the same Obligation of duty likewise is descended.

Again, That the graver and wiser sort in *both Universities*, or whosoever they be, with whose approbation the marks and recognizances of all learning are bestowed, would think the Apostles caution against unadvised Ordinations, not impertinent or unnecessarie to be born in minde, even when they grant those degrees of Schools. Which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ* (kindnesses bestowed by way of humanity) but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a testimony given to the Church and Commonwealth, concerning mens sufficiency for manners and knowledge; a testimony upon the credit whereof sundry *Statutes* of the Realm are built; a testimony so far available, that *nothing* is *more* respected for the *warrant* of divers mens abilities to serve in the affairs of the Realm: a testimony, wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to be always given; and do thereby induce into errour, such as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in question; let *them* look that God shall return back upon *their* heads, and cause them in the state of their *own Corporations* to feel (either one way or other) the punishment of those harms, which the Church through their negligence doth sustain in that behalf.

[c] *Simony.*] Also to avoid the detestable sin of Simony, because buying and selling of Benefices is execrable before God; therefore all such persons as buy any Benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such Benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive *any other* spiritual promotion. And such as do sell them, or by any colour do bestow

them for their own gain and profit, ſhall looſe their right and title of Patronage and preſentment for that time, and the gift thereof for that vacation ſhall appertain to the Queens Majeſtie. *Q. Eliz. injunct. 9.*

Vide Canoncs anno 1571. De patronis. And whoever is admitted, inſtituted, or inſtalled into any Eccleſiaſtical dignitie or beneficc, ought to take a ſolemn oath before the Archbiſhop, Biſhop, &c. preſcribed by the Canon in theſe words, I N. N. do ſwear that I have made no Simoniacal paiment, contract, or promiſe, directly or indirectly, by my ſelf or by any other, to my knowledge or with my conſent, to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, for or concerning the procuring and obtaining of this Eccleſiaſtical dignitie *(naming it)*; nor will at any time hereafter perform or ſatisfie any ſuch kinde of paiment, contract, or promiſe made by any other without my knowledge or conſent: So help me God through Jeſus Chriſt. *Conſtitutiones Jacobi* 41.

[f] *Reſidence of Curates.*] Solerter cavendum eſt, nè talibus cura gregis Dominici committatur, qui aut negligunt, aut ignorant cuſtodiæ ſibi commiſſæ (ut decet) intendere vigilanter. Statuimus itaque, ut nullus Epiſcoporum ad Vicariam quemq; admittat, niſi velit in eccleſia (in qua ei Vicaria conceditur) perſonaliter miniſtrare, ac talis exiſtat, qui infra breve tempus valeat in Presbyterum ordinari. Quod ſi admiſſus fuerit aliquis, & noluerit in Presbyterum ordinari, vicariæ beneficio ſpolietur. Et quia inhoneſtum eſt, ut Eccleſiæ propter minores redditus paſtoribus maneant deſolatæ, Præſenti decreto ſtatuimus, ut eccleſiæ quæ in redditibus ultrà quinque marchas non habent, non niſi talibus perſonis conferantur, quæ reſideant in eiſdem & in propria perſona miniſtrent. Quod ſi forte tales admiſſi fuerint qui reſidere noluerint, aut etiam eccleſiæ miniſtrare (cùm non niſi laborantibus panis Dominicus ſit largiendus) eccleſiis ipſis præmiſſâ admonitione debitâ, per Dioceſanum Epiſcopum ſpolientur. *Concil. Oxon.* 1°.

1°. *Linwood De clericis non reſiden. c. Cùm hoſtis.*

Abſentia Paſtoris à Dominico grege, & ſecura illa negligentia quam videmus in multis, & deſtitutio miniſterii, eſt res & in ſe fœda, & odioſa in vulgus, & perniciosa Eccleſiæ Dei. *Canones Eliz. anno* 1571.

Hookers Eccleſ. policy, lib. 5. §. 81. *begins thus*; The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greateſt is that three-fold blot or blemiſh of notable ignorance, unconſcionable abſence from the cures whereof men have taken charge, and unſatiable hunting after ſpiritual preferments without either care or conſcience of the publick good. -- Againſt theſe no man is ſo raw and dull, but that the volumes which have been written both of old and late, may make him (in ſo plentifull a cauſe) eloquent, *p.*445. As it fares in ſuch caſes, the gap which for juſt conſiderations we open to ſome, letteth in others (through corrupt practiſes) to whom ſuch favours were never meant, nor ſhould be communicated. *And (having propounded ſeveral expedients for reformation, p.* 451,452.) *he concludes the book, with* deſiring that a voluntary reformation hereof were made on all ſides, of that which may give paſſage unto any abuſe.

g *Merchandiſe.*] *Conſtitutio Othoboni, p.*73. b. quòd religioſi non ement vel vendent. Arctiùs inhibemus nè Monachi, moniales, aut religioſi quilibet (cujuſcunq; religionis exiſtunt) mercationes (quæ in emendo vel vendendo conſiſtunt) in mundanis mercatis, vel aliàs, audeant in quibuſdam rebus aliquatenus exercere. Alioquin ab officio ſint ſuſpenſi; quæ ſuſpenſio per ſuperiorem non relaxetur quouſque ſatisfecerint de præmiſsis.

Saxonicus Canon Ælfrici in Spelmanno, p. 579. §. 30. *Ne beo, &c.* Presbyter nec ſit mercator, nec mercaturæ cupidus, nec omiſſo Theologiæ ſtudio, ſe ad mundanas conferat ſermocinationes, nec arma ferat, nec lites agat, nec in cœnopoliis bibat more ſecularium.

h *Uſurer.*]

[h] *Usurer.*] Usurarios prohibet Rex Edwardus Confessarius, nè remaneret aliquis in toto regno suo. *Leges Eccles. S. Edw. in Spelman, p.* 623. §. 23. *& p.* 299. §. 17.

[i] *Hunter.*] Venationes & silvaticas vagationes cum canibus, & ut aecipitres & falcones habeant, prohibemus, *Spelman. p.* 238. §. 4. *De clerico venatore.* Statuimus ut si quis clericus, &c. *Linwood, p.* 232. Si clericus venationes exercuerit, unum annum pœniteat (*cum pane & aqua*) diaconus duos, presbyter tres, *Theodori canon. pœnit. cap. De venatione.*

[k] *Gamer.*] Μηδένα ὅλως ἀπάγλων εἴτε λαϊκῶν εἴτε κληρικῶν, κυβεύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν· εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο φωραθείη ποιῶν, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς εἴη, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω. Siquis clericus aleâ ludat, deponatur; si laicus segregetur. *Concil. Constantinopol. in Trullo. can.* 50.

Ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise (at any unlawfull time) nor for any other cause then for their honest necessities, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses. And after their meats they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idlely by day or by night, at dice, cards, or tables-playing, or any unlawfull game. But at all times as they shall have leisure, they shall hear or read somewhat of the holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise. And that they always do the things which appertain to honesty, and endeavour to profit the commonwealth; having always in minde, that they ought to excell all others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and Christianly. *Q. Eliz. injunct.* 7.

Decanus & residentiarii quantum maximè possint dabunt operam, ut *minores Canonici* aut vicarii & ministri Ecclesiæ, non ignavi & inutiles vitam ducant in otio, & illicitis lusibus se exerceant. *Liber quorundam Canonum anno* 1571. *cap.* 2.

[l] *Weapon*] Interdiximus servis Dei ut pompatico habitu

habitu, vel sago vel armis utantur. *Cuthert. in Spelmanni Concil. pag.* 238. Non licet Clerico esse mercatorem, nec habere præfecturam, nec turpe lucrum sectari, nec implicare se negotiis secularibus, nec esse ebriosum, nec bibere in tabernis: sed oportet eum semper esse paratum ad hoc quod ordinatus est. ---Non debet esse superbus, arrogans, nec superfluus in vestitibus, nec comptus annulis: ---non debet armis uti, nec ad bellum procedere: quia canones docent, quòd quicunque clericus in bello aut rixa mortuus fuerit, neque oblatione neque oratione postuletur pro eo. *Theodori pœnitentiale MS. in bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi Cantabr. in medio voluminis.*

[m] *Apparel and adorning the body.*] Provisò, nè Clerici in publicum nisi promissis vestibus *(cassocks)* induti prodeant *Constitut.* 1603. 74. *Injunctions* 1559. 30. See *John Gersons* excellent tract *De temperantia in cibis, potu, & vestibus Prælatorum*; where he proves, *that excess in these will be one means to ruin the Church. Now whether to go in coerpo, with a band hanging over the shoulders, and hair reaching almost to the middle of the back, compassed round with ribbons (so that many in holy Orders, look rather like gallantoes and ruffians then Clergymen) whether this agrees with old Canons, let him judge who meets there oft with* Clericus comam non nutriat, *(which is called by* Epiphanius, *An Apostolical Constitution,* p. 1073. & 1074. edit Petav.) *or consults* Spelmanni Concilia p. 52. 6. & p. 453. §. 47. Concil. Carthag. IV. can. 44. Aniceti epist. decret. Dionys. De eccles. hierar. par. 2. c. 3. *or the late Canons* De vestitu clericorum, anno 1564. *or regards the custome of any other Churches, or S. Pauls plain precept* 1 Cor. xi. 14. 16. *or knows how sharply* Epiphanius (*in the place afore-cited*) *and S.* Augustin (lib. De oper. Manich. cap. ult) *do rebuke some Monks for going in long hair.*

[n] *Secular business.*] No man being admitted a Deacon or Minister, shall use himself in the course of his life

life as a lay-man, upon pain of excommunication, *Can.* 75. *anno* 1603. Presbyteri sciant se necessariò pro Dei intuitu debere à secularibus negotiis causisque in quantum prævaleant, vacare, *Spelman. pag.* 247. 8. & 582. 34.

[o] *Residence of Bishops.*] Vide Constitutiones *Othoboni, De residentia Episcoporum, p.* 43. Pastor bonus cognoscens gregem suum debet ipsum & corporis, & mentis oculis jugiter intueri, &c. Sub divini attestatione judicii commonemus, ut ad commissi gregis curam, &c. *ibid.*

Spelman, p. 238. Statuimus ut singulis annis unusquisque Episcopus parochiam suam solicitè circumeat, populum confirmare, & plebem docere.

[p] *Patrimony of Christ.*] The goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor; and in these days nothing is less seen then the poor to be sustained with the same; so saith the 15th *Injunct. of Edw.* 6. *anno* 1547. *Gratian having brought many autorities to this purpose, concludes thus;* By all these autorities it is clear, that Clergy-men can have no propriety; if they have, they are no Clergy men. 12. *q.* 1. *c. habebat. Almost all the* 9th *book of Spalato De Eccles. Repub. is spent in proving this; but see chiefly,* c. 7. §. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. & c. 1. §. 18. ad finem. *The same Spalato hath more to the same purpose in his large reply (which is extant in Cajus Colledge library) to that letter of Bishop Hall, which was printed by John Crook,* 1660. *in Bishop Halls* remains, *p.* 394. *In which reply* Spalato *complains, that his writing upon this subject, was the onely reason why his third tome (which now hath been twice printed in Germany) was not permitted to come forth in England in the year* 1620. *The judgement of Bishop* Goodman *in this point see in* ([u]) *my last note.*

[q] *Enriching of kinsfolk.*] *This follows from the former. For if Ecclesiastical goods be (as our Church saith)* the goods of the poor, *then kinsfolk ought not be enriched by them.*

them. Non te numerus propinquorum avarum faciat, quasi illis in hæreditatem congregare debeas; nullus hæres melior est Christo, nemo tui thesauri fidelior custos est. Epistola Alcuini ad Eanbaldum Archiep. in Pœnitentiali Theodori Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. *Thus the* 38th *Apostolical Canon saith, that* a Bishop is to dispense the goods of the Church as in the presence of God, and it is not lawfull for him to give any thing (even to his own parents) of those things that belong to God: onely if they be poor, he is to help *them* as *other* poor people, and not to prey upon the Churches goods for them. *The Councel of Gangra* (*which was presently after the first Nicen*) *decrees, can.* 8. That if any receive an oblation beside the Bishop, and him that is appointed by the Bishop to dispense alms to the poor; both he that gives, and he that receives it shall be excommunicate. *See more Canons in Spalato. l.* 9. *c.* 4. §. 13. *&* c. 7. §. 10. *I conclude this with a passage of S. Augustin* (Serm. 21. ad fratres in eremo) tom. 10. Non ergò habere debemus temporalia, &c. We ought not therefore to have temporal goods to keep them in our possession; nor must I that am a Bishop have them, but onely to dispense to poor people, because the goods of the Church are the goods of the poor: wherefore I must take great heed lest the estate of the poor (which belongs to the Church of Hippo) be given to the rich. In which matter I have hitherto quit my self well. For I have kinred who call themselves noble, and they come to me being a Bishop (one while threatning, another while flattering me) and say, *Father, give us somewhat for we are your kin:* And yet by Gods grace, and the mediation of your prayers, I do not remember that ever I enriched one of them. For the poor are more dear to me then the rich, because having food and raiment we should be therewith content. *See more of this and all the former particulars,* in Concilio Aquisgranensi de Ecclesiastica disciplina celebrato anno 836. in Binio,

Binio, tom. 3. part. 1. Sect. poster. pag. 313. &c. Hieron. adv. Jovin. l. 2. De consecrat. dist. 5. c. *Ne tales.* Prosperum *de vitâ contemplativâ* these chapters; Of the negligence of a Priest who acts contrary to his doctrine lib. 1 cap. 15. what danger will betide them who neglect the cure committed to their charge c. 16. what manner of persons Priests should be. c. 21. & 25. That Priests ought to look upon nothing as their own, l. 2. c. 9. how they ruine their souls who take of the goods of the Church when they have enough of their own, c. 10. Concil. Carthagin. 4. Lopez epitome patrum l. 5. c. 11. *Episcopi non dicent consanguineos.* Bishop Andrews p. 39. of this book and note [*b*]

[r] *Councels*] Episcopus bis in anno Synodum cogat, & parochiam suam semel circumeat, peccata corripiens. *Spelman p.* 293. 3.

P. 28. l. 18. *I see not what good cometh of your assembling, namely to the Church*] Sacerdotum ac principum concilium uno tempore habebatur; ac unum tantum agebatur, ut pecunia imperaretur. Polydor. Vergil. l. 27. in Hen. 8. mihi pag. 1710 Edit. Gandavi, 1557.

[s] *Correction of manners*] See many laws to this end in Concilio Aquisgranensi jam citato, and in Spelman p. 395. &c.

[t] *Laity*] *I shall onely minde the Laity (for 20 years confusion hath made many forget) how the Church of England exhorteth them to behave themselves in holy* places *and at holy* times *(God joyns both together Lev.* xix. 30.*)* All Bishops and Preachers shall exhort and teach the people committed to their spiritual charge to use themselves in this manner following: that is to say, At their entrie or coming into the Church, let them make account with themselves how they have bestowed the week past; remembring what evil mindes and purposes they have had, what words they have spoke, what things they have done or left undone, to the dishonour and displeasure of God; or what example or occasion of

of evil they have given to others. And when they have thus recollected and considered all these things in their minds, then let them humbly acknowledge their faults unto God, and ask forgiveness for the same; with unfeigned purpose in their hearts to convert and return from their naughty lives, and to amend the same. And when they have so done, then let them clearly and purely in their hearts remit and forgive all malice and displeasure which they bear to any creature: and after that let them fall unto prayer, according to the commandment of Christ, where he saith Mat. 5. *When ye begin to pray, forgive whatsoever displeasure ye have against any man.* And when they be weary of prayer, then let them use reading of the word of God, or some other good and heavenly doctrine; so that they do it quietly, without disturbance of others that be in the Church: Or else let them imploy their minds with some wholsome and godly meditations whereby they may be the better. *Thus far the book entituled,* The Institution of a Christian man, *subscribed by* 21 *of our English Bishops in the year* 1537. And they are to keep holy days not in idleness, pride, drunkenness, &c. but in hearing the word of God read and taught, in private and publick prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours where displeasure hath been, in often receiving the Communion, in visiting the poor and sick, in using all soberness and godly conversation. Thus the 25. *injunction, Edw.* 6. *a*° *D.* 1547.

Reformation of the laity] *It seems the laity needed reforming in Dr. Colets days; but how much more they have needed it since, appears by a Sermon preacht by the Bishop of Chichester at S. Pauls Cross March* 4. 1576. *in the midst whereof are these words:* Good Lord, what devotion was there in the children of darkness *(meaning* papists *in his memory.)* They would go a foot many an hundred

dred miles to a dumb image. They would rise by midnight, and tarry all the morning in the Church cold and hungry to hear that which they understood not. They gave away their goods and their lands to clothe images. They would eat nothing but bread and water full many a time; and spare from their own belly to bestow it as their zeal led them. I leave them to God, I hope the best.

But we that have the light of the Gospel (that know true religion, and true faith, and true prayer, and true alms) have little devotion, either to fast, or to do the works of true mercy. We will scarce rise at seven a clock (nay at nine a clock) to hear the word of God, and to serve God; we will not go a mile (nay we will scarce go out of our chambers and houses) to hear Christ preached, and to honour God in his congregation: Never so little business stayeth us from Sermons and Common-Prayer, &c.

[*I finde Erasmus in his Epistles* (l.10.ep.9,10. & sæpe alibi) *oft calling D^r. Colet præceptorē unicum & optimum; but why I know not, unless for his giving so good præcepts in this Sermon.*]

" *Courts*] *Vide librum* quorundam Canonum 1571, cap. 4. & constitutiones 1597. de excessibus Apparituū reformand., & feodis quæ officiariis Eccles. debentur. *Godfrey Goodman, the last Bishop of Glouceſter, in his epistle to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge set before his* Mysteries of Christian Religion, *hath these words*; I confess that God would never have permitted us to have suffered in such a manner, as we have done, had we not provoked him with our sins: and that I may be our own accuser, I think our greatest offence did consist in these two things. First, that many of us did not spend our Church-means in a Church-like manner, but converted them to our own private uses, or otherwise misimployed them: therefore God justly takes them away, and permits sacriledge; we our selves having first offended

fended in the ſame kinde. For certainly Church-means ſhould have relation as well to the uſes as to the perſons; and a Church man in miſpending them commits ſacrilege. And whereas many excuſe it in regard of their wives and children, God forbid but regard ſhould be had of them, yet ſtill with moderation. I cannot excuſe the exceſs of Apparel and ſome other courſes of expence. Yet this I muſt teſtifie for a truth, that ſpeaking privately with ſome Biſhops, they told me (and I beleeved them) that they layed not up one farthing of their Biſhopricks: and this may appear, for many of them died very poor, as *Worceſter, Hereford, Peterborough, Briſtol*; and not unlike but others will do ſo.

Another great fault in the Church was the *intolerable abuſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*; therefore God hath made us now uncapable of any Juriſdiction. So juſt and wonderful is he in all his judgements! I confeſs in mine own particular I did as much deſire and labour to reform it as any man could do, yet I could never prevail. Herein a little to excuſe the Church, I have it (and can produce it at this time) under the Kings own hand and ſeal wherein he forbids that any Church man or Prieſt in holy Orders, ſhould be a Chancellour; and this was the occaſion of all the corruption of the ſpiritual Court: for the Judges at the Common Law have their Penſions and Allowances, but Chancellours have none at all, they live onely upon the fees of the Court, and for them to diſmiſs a cauſe, it was to looſe ſo much bloud. Now if they be naught in themſelves, then they muſt for their own advantage and profit have Inſtruments and Agents accordingly: ſo the Regiſters, Proctours, Apparatours, they were *peſſimum genus hominum*. While the ſpiritual Court was onely governed by Church men and Prieſts, as it ought to be (and hath ever been ſo heretofore) they had their ſpiritual Benefices and Dignities

to live upon, and did ſcorn the Fees of the Court: beſides the holineſs of the Profeſſion kept them from bribing and corruption. Little do men think how much they ſuffer by this one poſition, *That Church men ſhould not interpoſe in Civil and Moral affairs:* Whereas formerly Biſhops and Church-men onely were truſted with laſt Wills and Teſtaments, and granting out Adminiſtrations. And certainly if there be any honeſty among men, it muſt be ſuppoſed to be rather in them then in others; but there having been ſuch an abuſe it muſt be acknowledged that God is moſt juſt in all his ways, and what hath befaln us, is according to the deſerts of our ſins.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω. *Nicen.* 1. *Can.* 6.

The contents of Dr. Colets *life.*

§. 1. *His birth and parentage, the derivation of his name.* 2, 3. *His wealth, comelineſs, and ſtudies in ſeveral countreys.* 4. *He expounds S.* Pauls *Epiſtles in* Oxford; *and thereupon* (5) *is made D.D. & Dean of S.* Pauls *Church.* 6, 7. *Sir* Thomas More's *judgement of him, and ſome others, and of a Citie-life.* (5) 8. *His behaviour in Gods houſe and his own.* 9. *His garments, and amanuenſis.* 10. *How he diſtributed his Church-revenues, and how his* own *inheritance.* 11, 12, 13. *S.* Pauls *ſchool built, endowed, and deſcribed.* 14. *His houſe at* Richmond. 15, 16, 17, 18. *His natural temper; ſubdued by Philoſophy and Religion.* 19. *His opinions*; *and* 25. *his afflictions.* 14. *His death, and* 32, 33. *The burying-places of him and his kinred.*

THE

THE LIFE OF Dr. COLET,

Writ by ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS.

§. 1. JOHN [a] COLET was born in *London*, the son of *Henry Colet* (Knight, and twice L[d]. Major of that City) and *Christian* his wife: who [b] was a Matron of very rare piety and Christian fortitude; whereof I will give but one instance. She had 11 sons, and as many daughters of the same husband; all which she saw buried, except John who was her first-born. God was pleased to take Sir Henry away, when she was a very old woman. And when she was *fourscore* and *ten* years of age, her countenance was so comely and entire, her behaviour so cheerfull and pleasant, that if you had seen her you would have said, sure she never had any sorrow or any child-bearing in her life: yet, unless my memory fail much, she out lived her son *John*. So much strength of minde was there even in a *woman*, caused not by Philosophy

[a] *Erasmus* tells *Lupset* (who gave him some materials to write this life) that *Colet* is a name that seemeth to have been given to this Author by God, for *Coheleth*, which in Hebrew signifies *Ecclesiastes*, *the preacher*. If I might guess again, I should say that he was so called because of those rare endowments that were in him. For the *Colet* is that *part of the ring wherein the* pretious *stone or signet is set*. See Tho. Thomasius in voce *Pala*. It pleased Alm. God to break his mothers wedding-ring in taking away *all* her 22 children, except only *one*: but he preserved the *colet* of it, in preserving our Dr. alive as long as she lived. See more of this, page penult. [b] Erasm. l. 24. ep. 16. p. 1317.

sophy or humane learning, but by sincere piety to God and trust in Christ. A shame for many *men*!

§. 2. Lib. xv. Epist. 14. pag. 702. Of these two and twenty children, John being the eldest was according to the law of England his fathers sole heir: whereby he must have inherited a very considerable fortune, though the rest had all lived, but they were all dead when I first began to know him. And nature was as indulgent to him as fortune; for he had a very proper, tall, [c] handsome and comely body. In his younger days he much addicted himself to the study of Scholastical Philosophy, and commenced in England *Master of Arts*; an honour due not so much to his standing in the Universitie, as his knowledge in the seven liberal sciences: in none whereof he had been then ignorant, in most of them exquisitly learned. All *Tullies* works were as familiar to him as his epistles. He had read over *Plato* and *Plotinus* [so diligently, that when I heard him speak, me thought I heard Plato to himself talk, lib. 5. ep. 2. pag. 309. c.] And he had a smattering in each part of Mathematicks.

§. 3. Being thus well principled at home, he began to look abroad, and improve his stock in foreign parts. In *France* he added to his *Humanity*, what he thought necessary for the study of *Divinity*: which then he effectually prosecuted in *Italy*.

[c] This appears from that picture of him which is in our publick library at Cambridge, in a very choice Manuscript, almost elaborately done in his own house at Pauls. In the first page whereof these words (*D. Johannis Coletti Decani S. Pauli*) are writ over a yong person in Priestly attire, having the beautifullest face (in my opinion) that ever I beheld; and so far differing from that wch is of him at S. Pauls schoole & his tomb, that I was saint to thew them both to a judicious Limner, to know whether they were drawn for the same man: who answered, yes certainly: whence I gathered (and from p. 58. l. 18. & p. 71 l. 23. of this book) that he was very fair till his sweating sickness and consumption, and (perhaps chiefly) his afflictions changed his complexion. *---me crede colori.*

Italy. Amongst the *Ancients* he was most taken with *Dionysius*, *Origen*, S. *Cyprian*, S. *Ambrose*, and S. *Hierome*. But among them all he did most disgust S. *Augustine*. And yet he did not so tye himself to *Antiquity*, but that (as occasion served) he sometimes surveyed *Aquinas*. *Scotus*. and other School-men. In a word he was well versed in *both Laws*; and singularly read in History, both civil and ecclesiastical. And because he saw that *England* had her *Dantes* & *Petrarchs* as well as *Italie* (who have performed the same here, which they did there) those and these, he both read and diligently imitated; accommodating thereby his stile to the Pulpit, and preaching of the Gospel.

§. 4. After his return from *Italie*, he staid not long in *London* (where his parents lived) but chose to live in *Oxford*, where he publickly (yet freely and without stipend) expounded S. Pauls Epistles, being not full thirty years of age, younger then I was by two or three moneths. There and then I had the happiness to come first acquainted with him: For though at that time he had neither took nor desired any degree in Divinity; yet there was no Doctour whatsoever either of Theologie or Law, no Abbot nor dignified person in the whole Universitie, that did not frequent (and which is more) take notes of his Lectures. Which was to be imputed either to *Colets* authority, or their studiousness and modesty, choose you whether.

§. 5. But before he left *Oxford* they honoured him with the degree of *Doctour*; which he accepted rather to please the givers then himself. From that University and these sacred imployments, he was called back to *London* by the favour of K. *Henry* VII. who bestowed upon him the Deanery of S. *Pauls*; that he might be President of his Colledge whose *Epistles* and learning he loved so well. [He was made both Doctour and Dean a° 1504. *l.*10. *ep.* 8. *p.*512.] Of all the Deaneries in *England* the highest in esteem, but not of greatest

value: which *Colet* embraced rather as a burdensome charge, then honour. And therefore as soon as he had regulated his Colledge of Prebends, and raised up the antient Discipline that was fallen down, he resolved (which was not usual in those times) *TO PREACH EVERY HOLY DAY* in his *Cathedral*, over and above his Sermons at *Court*, and many other Churches. At S. *Pauls* he expounded the Scriptures, not by retale, but whole-sale; running over, sometimes a whole *Epistle*, sometime a whole *Gospel*, the *Creed*, or the *Lords Prayer*. Whersoever he preached, he was exceedingly followed, both by the chief Citizens and Courtiers: which appears by this following letter sent him by S^r. *Thomas More* (afterwards Lord Chancellour of *England*) which you may see in *Stapleton*, (tom. 4. pag. 992. operum in folio.)

§. 6. *SIR; I lately met your boy in Cheapside, whom I was very glad to see, chiefly because I thought he had not returned without you. But when he told me that you were not onely not come, but not coming; you cannot imagine into what a dump of sadness I fell from an height of joy. For what can be more troublesome to me, than to be deprived of your most sweet companie? having been so long used to enjoy your most prudent counsel, to be refresht with your most pleasant society, to be rouzed with your most grave sermons, and bettered by your excellent example and life: in a word, in whose very countenance and gesture I was wont to be unspeakably delighted. As me thought I was strengthened by these things while I had them, so for want of them I seem to languish. And because of late by following you, I had almost got out of the jaws of hell, now again like another* Euridice *(yet by a contrary law; for she fell because* Orpheus *look't upon her, but I fall because you do not look upon me) I am carried back by a kinde of force and necessity into sad darkness. For what is there in this city that should move any body to live well, and not rather (while he is of his*

his own disposition climbing up the steep hill of vertue) pull him back by a thousand allurements and devices? which way soever I walk, what do I hear of, but dissembling, and the sugred poysons of flatterers; what do men talk of but quarrels and law-suits? which way soever I look, what do I see but alehouses, taverns, cooks, butchers, fishers, fowlers, and such cattel; who prog for belly-timber, and serve the world, and the Devil the prince thereof? I know not how it comes to pass, but methinks the very tops of the houses almost meet sometimes, and take away a good part of the pleasant light; and will not suffer us to look upon heaven freely: so it is not the circumference of the horizon, but the house-top that bounds the air. For which cause I may excuse you the more, if you are not yet weary of the countrey; where you see people dealing plainly, and not acquainted with the knavery of the Citie; where which way soever you turn your eys, the smiling face of the earth *pleases, the sweet temper of the* air *refresheth, and the goodly aspect of the* heaven *delighteth you. You see nothing there but the bountiful gifts of nature, and some holy footsteps of innocence.*

§. 7 *But, Sir, I would be loath you should be so far taken with these delights, as to be detained long from us: for if the inconveniencies of the Citie displease you, yet* Stepney *(of which you should have some care) will be as convenient for you as the place that you are now in; whence you may step into the citie (where you have an huge opportunity of doing good) as into an inn. For whereas men in the countrey are of themselves either almost innocent, or not so abominably bad as they be here; any Physician may do good among them. But to this Citie, both by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants, and the inveterate hold which the diseases (of sin) have got, a Doctour comes to no purpose, unless he be excellently skild. I confess some come into your pulpit at S. Pauls sometimes, who promise fair; but when they seem to have made an excellent discourse, their lives differ so much frō their words, that they do increase rather then assuage the*

malady. For they who themſelves are ſickeſt of all, will never perſwade people, that they are fit to be charged with the care and cure of other folks diſtempers: which when men feel touched by thoſe that they ſee full of ulcers, they cannot but winch, kick, and be angry. But if (as the Philoſophers ſay) he be the fitteſt Phyſician, in whom the ſick perſon hath greateſt confidence, doubtleſs none is more likely then you to cure this whole Citie. By whom, how willing they are to have their wounds handled, in whom what confidence they put (and how ready they are to obey you) appears ſufficiently by the experience that you *have of* them *and the incredible expectation that* they *have of* you. *Therefore make haſte away, my good* Colet: *either for your town* Stepnies *ſake, wch laments your long abſence as much as a childe doth his mothers; or for your native countreys ſake* (London) *whereof you ought to have as much care as of your parents. In the laſt, though leaſt place, be moved by your reſpect to me, who have dedicated my ſelf wholly to you and do hugely long for your return. Farewell, and ſtill, love*

Your very affectionate,

London. October 23. *THOMAS MORE.*

§. 8. The Deans table which in former times had under pretence of good houſe-keeping, been too much proſtitute to exceſs, he reduced to frugality. For he kept himſelf to one meal a day many years together, both before and after his preferment: which at once cut off all his ſupper-gueſts (late dinners not a few) and the more, becauſe his entertainment (though neat) was neither coſtly nor exceſſive; his ſitting ſhort, and his whole diſcourſe ſuch as pleaſed none but thoſe that were either learned or pious. For ſoon after he had ſaid grace, his boy read a chapter (diſtinctly and aloud) out of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, or *Solomons* Proverbs; from which he himſelf for the moſt part pickt the ſubject of that meals diſcourſe: asking not onely Scholars, but even ordinary people

people (if they were ingenuous) what was the meaning of this or that passage. And he so ordered his words, that though he were holy and grave, yet he seemed no whit tedious or supercilious. And at the end of the meal, when their hunger (not pleasure) was satisfied, he fell upon another subject: thus dismissing his guests, with as much satisfaction to their minds as refreshment to their bodies, desiring they should depart *better* men then they came, not with bigger bellies. He was hugely delighted with the conference of his friends, who oft kept him till late at night; but all his conference was either of literature, or *Jesus Christ*. If he had no acceptable friend to chat with (for every one did not please him) his boy did reade somewhat to him out of godly books. Sometimes he called me to ride abroad with him, and then he was as merry as any man alive; but a good book was *always* his comrade in his journey, and his talk was continually of *Christ*.

§. 9. He was so much averse from all filthiness, that he could not endure soleciſmes or barbarous language. He affected neatness in his household-stuff, clothes, books, meat; but not magnificence. He wore no garments but black, whereas in *England* Doctours in Divinity and other eminent Clergy-men, commonly wear scarlet. His upper garment was always of cloth, plain and without trimming; which in hard frosts he fortified with fur. [*Præfat. ad notas in N. T.*] And he being an eminent advancer of divine philosophy, lent me two very old Latine copies of the New Testament, when I wrote notes upon it; writ in characters that were like Saxon, and indeed so old, that I was forced to turn childe again, and begin anew to learn my Alphabet before I could read them.

* The two first Gospels were copied out of them by *Peter Meghen*, a rare scribe with one eye, born at *Brabant* in *Flanders*. He was kept by D^r. *Colet* in the Deans house at *Pauls*, and his most fair transcript is now kept in the publick Library at *Cambridge*.

§. 10.

§. 10. Whatsoever revennues accrued unto him by the Church, he intirely committed to his steward, to be distributed, and spent in house-keeping. [*See pag. ult.*] His own hereditary rents and profits (which were vast) he himself distributed to pious uses. For his father being dead, money flowed in apace from what was left him by inheritance; and left that being kept should breed some disease in him, he therewith erected a stately new school in S. *Pauls Churchyard*, dedicated to the holy childe *Jesus:* whereunto he joyned fair dwellings for two School-masters, to whom he assigned liberal stipends, that they might teach *gratis* but so as that they should not be enjoyned to admit above a certain number [viz. 153. *from John* xxi. 11.]

§, 11. The whole fabrick he divided into four parts: whereof one (at the entrance) is (as it were) for the *Catechumeni* (& yet none is admitted till he can read and write) the second for such as are under the *Usher*. The third part is for those whom the upper Master teacheth These two ends are divided by a curtain, wch is drawn to and fro when they please. Above the Masters chair stands the holy childe *JESUS*, curiously engraven, in the posture of one reading a lecture, with this motto *HEAR HIM*, which words I advised him to set up. And all the young fry when they come in & go out of school [*beside their appointed prayers*] salute Christ with an * hymn. At the upper end is a chappel, in which divine Service may be said. The whole building hath no corners nor lurking holes for dunces, having neither chamber nor dining room in it. Every boy hath his proper seat distinguisht by spaces of wood, and the forms have three ascents. Every *class* containeth sixteen boys, [*the two lowest much more*] and the best scholar of each, sits in a seat somewhat more eminent than the rest [*with the word CAPITANEUS engraven in golden letters over his head.*]

* Which you may read amongst *Erasmus*'s Epigramms.

§. 12. The

§. 12 The masters of this School do not rashly admit all that are brought; but choice is made of the most towardly wits and best dispositions; *lest in that laborious imployment they should toyl in vain.* For some men in this age are so base [*as I told Dr. Colet l. 31. ep. 45. p. 2046. g.*] as to set those to be Scholars, and profess Divinity (the chief of all Sciences) whom for their dull capacitie and bad natures they think scarce fit for any other study. He entreated me [*lib. 10. ep. 17, & 18. p. 518. f. & 520. c*] to seek out a man whom I thought a fit Under-master for this his School (*Will. Lilly being the first Upper-master*) I enquired in many places but could hear of none. At length being at *Cambridge* among some Masters of Arts, I propounded it to them; one of them (and he of no mean esteem) smiling, said, *Who would endure to live in that School among boyes, that could make a shift to scrape up a livelyhood any where else?* I answered modestly, that it seemed to me a very honest imployment, to instruct young people in learning and good manners; that *Christ* did not despise *that age*; that a man could bestow his pains upon no age better; and in no place expect a better effect or reward of his pains then at S. *Pauls* School, because it is in the *midst* of *London*, and *London* the *chief* City of the Kingdome, where from all other parts the lines (or gentrie and ingenuous people) meet as in a centre. And I added, that if men were truly pious, they would think that they could no way serve God better then by bringing children to Christ. But he drawing up his nose and scoffing, replyed, if any have a minde to serve Christ let him go into a Monasterie or Religious house. I answered, that S. *Paul* placed true *Religion* in the duties of *Charity*; and that charity consisted in doing as much good to our neighbours as we could. He rejected that as sillily spoken. *Behold*, quoth he, *we have left all*, therein is perfection. I finally told him, that that man hath not left all, who when it is in his power

to

to do good to very many people, ſhuns the imployment becauſe he thinks it too mean for him ---And ſo (leſt we ſhould have wrangled) I left the man. But you here ſee the wiſdome of the *Scotiſts*.

§. 13. Our quick-ſighted Dr. *Colet* ſaw very well, that the main hope and pillar of a Common-wealth, conſiſts in furniſhing youth with good literature, and therefore did he beſtow ſo much care and coſt on this ſchool. Though it ſtood him in an * infinite ſum of money to build and endow it, yet he would accept of no copartner. One left indeed a legacie of *an* 100 *pounds* ſterling to the ſtructure of it; but *Colet* thinking, that if he took it, ſome lay people would challenge to themſelves I know not what authority over the ſchool, did by the permiſſion of his Biſhop, beſtow it upon holy veſtments for the quire. Yet though he would ſuffer no lay-man to have a finger in the building, he entruſted no Clergy-man (not ſo much as the Biſhop, Dean and Chapter of S. *Pauls*) nor any of the Nobility, with the overſight of the revenues, but ſome married citizens of honeſt report. When he was asked why he would do ſo? he anſwered, That there was nothing certain in humane affairs; but he found leaſt corruption in ſuch men.

* So vaſt charges, as would have ſcared even a Peer of the Realm to think on it; for he laid out all his inheritance upon it. Tam ingentes ſumptus ut ſatrapam quoque deterrere poſſint, &c. *Eraſm. l.* 28 *ep.* 28. *epiſt dedic. ad Copiam verborum.* which book he wrote for the benefit of S. *Pauls* ſchool, as he wrote his book called *Eccleſiaſtes, ſive de ratione concionandi* (at the requeſt of Biſhop *Fiſher*) for *Chriſts* Colledge and S. *Johns* in *Cambridge*, as appears by the epiſtle dedicatory before it.

§. 14. As all men highly commended him for his * ſchool, ſo many wondred why he would build

* Of which ſchool St. *Thomas More* writ thus to Dr. *Colet*, *Neq; valde miror ſi clariſſimæ ſcholæ tuæ rumpantur invidiâ. Vident enim nil ex equo Trojano prodierunt Græci qui barbaram diruêre Trojam, ſic è tua prodire ſchola, qui ipſorum arguunt atq; ſubvertunt inſentiam.* Lib. 23. p. 870. cited by Stapleton. tom. 4. p 993.

ſo

so stately an house, within the bounds of the *Carthusian* monastery; which is not far from the palace at *Richmond:* but he told them, that he provided that seat for himself in his *old* age, when he should be unfit for labours, or broken with diseases, and so constrained to retire from the society of men. There he intended to philosophize with two or three eminent friends, among which he was wont to reckon me; but death prevented him. For being few years before his decease visited thrice with the sweating sickness (a disease which seized no countrey-men but *English*) though he recovered, yet he thereupon grew consumptive, and so died. One Physician thought that the dropsie kill'd him; but when he was dissected, they saw nothing extraordinary: onely the capillary vessels of his liver, were beset with pustles. He was buried in the south-side of the quire of his own Cathedral, in a low sepulchre, which he to that end had chose for himself some years before, with this inscription, JOHN COLET. [*but hereof I will add more in the last page of this narrative.*]

§. 15. In the mean while I shall say somewhat, first of his *nature*, secondly of his paradoxical *opinions*, and lastly of those *afflictions* wherewith his ingenuous piety was exercised; for some whereof he might have thanked his own natural temper. For he was of a very high spirit, hugely impatient of any injury, wonderfully prone to lascivious ness, luxury, and overmuch sleep, to jeasting and facetiousness above measure, (all this he confessed to me himself) and he was not wholly safe from covetousness. But against each of these he fought such a good fight, by Philosophy, Divine contemplations, watching, fasting, and prayer, that he led the whole course of his life free from the infections of this world; and as far as I could any way gather (by familiarity and much liberal converse with him) was a pure virgin to his dying day. All his wealth he distributed to pious uses. [*of which I have said somewhat already, and shall say more anon.*

§. 16. [*Lib.*

§. 16. [*Lib.* 23. *ep.* 5. *p.* 1206. a.] He had an unkle that was a very old ill-conditioned man, with whom he did not agree, The difference between them was not about a trifle, but so vast a sum of money, that a son might almost have fought with his father about it. *Colet* being to dine with the Reverend Father in God *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, took me in the boat with him from S. *Pauls* to *Lambeth*. All the way he read the remedie of anger in my *Enchiridion*, but did not tell me wherefore he read it. When we sat down, it chanced that *Colet* sat over against his uncle; and there he was very sad, neither speaking a word, nor eating a bit. Now the Archbishop had an excellent faculty in such a case (to make every one merry at his table) ordering his discourse according to each mans peculiar temper; so he began to compare our several ages, and then those who sat musing before, fell to chatting; and the unkle (as old men are wont to do) began to brag, that though he were so far stricken in years, he felt no decay of his strength. After dinner they two had some discourse betwixt themselves; but what I cannot tell. When *Colet* and I were come back to the boat, he told me that he saw I was an happy man; I answered, that I wondred why he should call me happy, who thought my self the unhappiest person in the world: whereupon he told me, that he had been that day so angry with his unkle, that he had almost resolved (breaking all bonds of Christian modesty, and natural affection to his kinred) to have sued him openly at law: That for this reason he took my *Enchiridion* in his hand along with him, to read *the remedy against anger*, and that the reading of it had done him much good; That by that prattle in dinner time, the bitterness and heat of

* What an exemplary man this *William* was, and how excellent a pattern of a good Prelate, see in *Erasmus* 's *Ecclesiastes* in the middle of the first book, which is extraordinarily well worth the reading.

of each was so far allayed, as that when the Archbishop stepped aside, and they talkt together privately, the whole difference was composed. [p.705.] In a word, *Colet* did daily so endeavour to conquer all his passions, and subdue the haughtiness of his minde by reason, that he would take it well to be admonished even by a childe.

§. 17. Lasciviousness, sleep, and luxury he chased away by abstaining constantly from supper, by continual sobriety, indefatigable study, and holy conferences. But yet when there was occasion, either to discourse with fair Ladies, or jest with witty persons, or feast with pleasant, a man might easily perceive some foot-steps of his *nature*, which made him for the most part keep from the society of all lay people; but especially from banquets, to which when he must needs come, he cómonly took with him me or some learned friend, with whom he discoursed in Latine, that he might avoid idle talk. His custome was to eat onely of one dish, to content himself with one glass of beer or ale, or two at the most. And though he was delighted with good wine, yet he drank very little of it; always suspecting his own sanguine complexion and inclination, and being very wary of all those things, by which he might offend any person whatsoever.

§. 18. In all my life I never saw a more happy wit; and thence it came that he was exceedingly pleased with such wits as were like himself: but at all times when he might choose his discourse, it was of such things as prepared him for the immortality of a life to come. And when at any time he refresht himself with pleasant stories, he did not fail to make use of his philosophy in them. He was much pleased with the purity and simplicity of nature in little *children* (to the imitation of whom we are called by our blessed Saviour) being wont to compare them to *angels*.

§. 19. Now for the second particular, his *opinions*; he

much differed in them from the vulgar. The *Scotists* (of whose acuteneſs moſt men have an high conceit) he eſteemed heavie fellows, and any thing rather then ingenuous. And yet he had a worſe opinion of *Thomas Aquinas* (for what reaſon I know not) then of *Scotus*. For when I ſometimes commended *Thomas* to him as no contemptible authour (among the moderns) becauſe he ſeemed to have read both Scriptures and Fathers (as I gueſſed by his *Catena Aurea*) and to have ſomewhat of affection in his writings; *Colet* ſeemed not to minde me two or three times, & ſaid nothing. But when at another diſcourſe I ſpoke the ſame again with more vehemency, he looket ſtedfaſtly upon me, to ſee whether I were in jeſt or in earneſt, and when he ſaw I ſpoke ſeriouſly, he replied thus in a paſſion, *Why do ye commend this man to me? who if he had not been very arrogant would never ſo raſhly (and yet ſo magiſterially) have preſumed to define all points of religion: and if he had not ſavoured too much of the ſpirit of the world, he would not have polluted all the doctrine of Chriſt with ſo much of his own profane philoſophy.* I wondred at the enthuſiaſtick poſture of the man, and after that ſet upon reading *Aquinas* his works more attentively; and I muſt needs confeſs, that my opinion of him abated much.

§. 20. No man was more a friend to true Chriſtian piety, yet he had little or no kindneſs for Monks, or rather I ſhould ſay for thoſe who are now (for the moſt part falſly) ſo called: and therefore while he lived he gave them but little, and when he died, nothing. Not that he hated the profeſſion, but becauſe he ſaw they did not live according to it. Yet his deſire was to have disingaged himſelf from the world, and betaken himſelf to a Monaſtery, if he could any where have found a ſociety that was truly and unanimouſly reſolved upon an Evangelical life. And when I went into *Italy*, he charged me to ſeek for ſuch an one; telling me that he had

had found some Monks there, who were really prudent and pious: commending also some *Germans*, among whom he thought that the footsteps of the good old Religion did still remain.

§. 21. Though he lived very chastly himself, yet he had a very charitable opinion of those Priests and Monks, who had no other crime but venery. Not that he did not heartily abhor the sin; but because he found such men far less mischievous then others (if compared) who were haughty, envious, backbiters, hypocrites, vain, unlearned, wholly given to the getting of money and honour. Yet these had a mighty opinion of themselves, whereas others by acknowledging their infirmity, were made more humble and modest. He said, that to be covetous and proud was more abominable in a Priest, then to have an hundred concubines: not that he thought incontinence to be a light sin; but covetousness and pride to be at a greater distance from true piety. And he was not more averse to any sort of men, than such Bishops who were wolves in stead of shepherds: and commended themselves by external service of God, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences to the people; while with all their hearts they served the world, that is, glory and gain. He was not much displeased with them, who would *not* have *images* (either painted or carved, gold or silver) *worshipt in Churches*; nor with them, who doubted whether a notorious *wicked Priest could consecrate the Sacrament*. Hereby not favouring their errour, but expressing his indignation against such Clergy-men, who by an open bad life gave occasion to this suspicion.

§. 22. He said, That the Colledges in *England* (which are large and stately) hinder good literature, and are receptacles of idle people: nor did he much regard the publick Schools, because there ambition and gain did corrupt the sincerity of all old discipline. As he did much approve of *secret Confession* (professing that

he never had so much comfort from any thing as that) so he much condemned anxiety in it, and repetition. Whereas it is the custome in *England*, for Priests to consecrate the host, and receive it almost every day, he was content to sacrifice on Sundays and Holi-days, or some few days beside: either to gain more time for his sacred studies, and fit himself the better for his pulpit-employments, and the business of his Cathedral; or because he found that his devotion had a greater edge, when it was sharpened with intervals. And yet he would not condemn them who were minded to come to the *Lords* table every day. Though he was a very learned man himself, yet he did not prize that anxious and laborious sort of wisdome, which is fully attained by knowledge of several sciences, and reading a multitude of books; saying oft, that the native sound constitution of mens parts, and the sincerity of their wit was lost thereby; and that they rather got a learned sort of madness, then any true incentive to Christian innocence, simplicity, and charity.

§. 23. He attributed very much to the Epistles of the H. Apostles; but when he compared them wth that wonderfull Majestie wch is to be found in our *Saviours* own sayings and sermons, he thought them somewhat dry. He had very ingenuously reduced almost all the sayings of Christ to *ternaries*, and intended to write a book of them. He wondred that Romane Priests should be forced to say so many prayers every day; nay, though they are much employed, whether at home or in a journey: but he much approved of the performing divine service magnificently. He dissented from innumerable opinions now commonly received in the Schools, in which he would sometimes tell his minde to his friends; but say nothing to others, lest he should incur a double inconvenience, *viz.* loose his own credit, and do them no good: perhaps harm. There was no book so heretical, that he was not willing to reade over atten-

attentively; professing that sometimes he advantaged himself more by such, than by their works who determine every question which they handle in such a manner, that they often flatter their leaders, and sometimes themselves.

§. 24. He endured not that any one should in speaking fluently, be guided altogether by the precepts of *Grammar* (that he said, oft hindred one from speaking well) but by his reading the best authours. Which opinion brought its own punishment along with it: for though he had *eloquence* both by nature and education, & had wonderful store of *matter* in his head when he began to make a speech, yet he oft tripped in those things which Criticks are wont to take notice of. And thereupon I suppose he abstained from writing books, which I wish he had not done: for *I HEARTILY DESIRE THE * MEDITATIONS OR WORKS OF THIS MAN, IN WHAT LANGUAGE SOEVER THEY ARE PENNED.*

* You have a catalogue of Dr. *Colets* works in the second page of my Preface to his book, where I should have added, that *his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romanes*, and an *Epistle* of his *to a Cardinal* (both writ with his own hand) are in the Library of S. *Pauls* school in *London*; together with the printed statutes of that school, and his *last Will*, copied out of the Prerogative Office, which will give some light to this Narrative.

§. 25. And now, lest you should think any thing wanting to the complete piety of Dr. *Colet*, in the last place hear his afflictions. He never agreed well with his Bishop, who (to say nothing of his manners) was a superstitious and stubborn *Scotist*; & thereupon thought himself half a God. Of which sort of men, though I know some whom I will not call *knaves*, yet I never saw one whom I thought I might truly term a *Christian*. Neither was the Doctour acceptable to most of his own Colledge, because he was very tenacious of regular discipline; and the Prebends complained that he used them as if they were *Monkes*, whereas indeed that

Colledge was antiently (and in old records is called) the Eastern Monastery: [*as Westmonasterium, the Western Monasterie.*]

§. 26. But when the old Bishop (for he was fourscore years of age) his hatred grew too high to be smothered, the fire brake out; and adjoyning two other Bishops as wise and virulent as himself, he began to trouble D. *Colet*, exhibiting articles against him to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, taken out of his Sermons: 1. That he said, *Images were not to be worshipped*. 2. That preaching upon that passage in the Gospel, *Feed, feed, feed my sheep*; he expounded the first by *good example*, the second by *sound doctrine* (as other Expositors do) but in the third he differed from them; denying that the Apostles who were poor men, were commanded to feed their sheep with *temporal revenue*, because they had *none* of it themselves: & that he named somwhat else in this third place. Lastly, That by blaming *those that read all or most of their sermons*, (which I confess many do now in *England* very coldly) he had obliquely taxed his Diocesan, who being a very old man was wont to do so. The Archbishop (being wel acquainted with *Colets* * excellencies) received the articles; but instead of being his Judge, became his Advocate.

* *Wittung* in his *general practise of Physick, part.* 1. *c.* 12. *Sect.* 1. saith, that one of his excellencies was a memorie, so stupendious that he could repeat all the *Decretals*, memoriter verbatim, and never forgat any thing that he read. And that he got this by help of a medicine there described. *Sit fides penes autorem*: Yet there may be some truth in it. But I take *Polydore Vergil* to be far the more credible authour, who (*hist. lib.* 26. *p. ult.*) gives us a large relation of D^r. *Colets* life: yet nothing which you have not had in this of *Erasmus*; except that his mother was *nobilis mulier*, that *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* stirred up D^r. *Colet* to propagate learning, that he studied at *Cambridge* as well as at *Oxford*; that he desired no honour, sought no wealth or riches, (which followed him running from them) and that for his sweet dispositions and holiness of life, he was esteemed in *England* almost another Apostle *Paul*.

§. 27. Yet

§. 27. Yet the old mans fury did not end so, but strove to incense the *Court* against him, especially K. *Henry* VIII. himself; because the Doctor had said in a sermon, *That an unjust peace was to be preferred before a most just war:* which sermon was preached in that nick of time, when the king was raising forces against the *French*. Two minim-Friars were the chief men that managed this business, whereof one was an incendiary of the war (for which he deserved a Bishoprick) the other with a pair of huge lungs, declamed in his sermons against Poets, thereby aiming at *Colet*, who though he had skil in musick, yet was in truth averse from Poetry.

§. 28. Here the King (who was an excellent person in his youth) gave an evident proof of his royal parts; exhorting *Colet* privately, *to go on in his preaching, freely to tax the corrupt manners of that age, and not to withdraw his light in those most dark times; adding, That he knew very well what incensed the Bishops so highly against him, and how much good Colet had done by his divine life, and holy doctrine to the English Church and Nation; lastly, that he would so curb their endeavours, that it should appear to the world, who ever troubled Colet, should not escape unpunisht.* Hereupon *Colet* humbly thanked the King for His royal favour; but beseeched Him not to do so; professing that he had rather lay down his preferment, than that any should suffer for his sake.

§. 29. But soon after another occasion was offered, by which they hoped to ruine him. For it happened that the King made preparation to march after Easter against the *French*: and upon Good-Friday *Colet* made a sermon to the King and Courtiers, which was much admired, concerning *the Victory of Christ*: Wherein he exhorted all Christians to fight under the banner of their heavenly King, and overcome: saying, That they who either through hatred, or ambition, or covetousnes do fight with evil men, and so kil one another, fight not under the banner of *Christ*, but the *Devil*; shewing

withall how hard a thing it is to die like a Christian, how few go forth to battell free from hatred and covetousnes; and how difficult for such to be in charity (without which no man shall see God) who sheath their swords in their brethrens bowels. Adding, that they should rather imitate their King *Christ*, then Pagan *Cesars* and *Alexanders*. And he had so many other smart passages to this purpose, that His Majestie was somewhat afraid lest this sermon would dis-hearten the souldiers that were listed.

§. 30. Hereupon all the birds of prey flockt about *Colet* like an owl, hoping the King would be incensed against him. His Majestie commands *Colet* to come before him at *Greenwich*. He goes into the garden of the Monastery of the *Franciscans* which was near, presently dismisseth his attendants. When they two were alone, the King bid *Colet* cover his head, and speak his minde freely; and then His Highnes began thus; *Dean, be not surprized with needless fear: I did not send for you hither to disturb your most holy labours (which I resolve to cherish as much as I can) but to unload my conscience of some scruples, and to desire your advice concerning my dutie.* The conference lasted almost an hour & an half, and I must not relate it all. In the mean while *Bricot* (the *Franciscan* Bishop) was in the Court stark wilde, hoping that *Colet* had been in great danger, whereas the King and he agreed in every particular very well. Onely His Majestie wisht, that what *Colet* spoke *truly*, he would speak (sometime or other) more *plainly*; lest the rude souldiers should mis-understand it, as if he had said, *That no war is lawfull among Christians*. And thus *Colet* (by his singular prudence & moderation) not onely satisfied the King, but got farther into his favour.

§. 31. When they returned from the garden to the Court, the King being about to dismiss *Colet*, called for a cup, and drank to him, embraced him most kindly, and promising him all the favours that could be expect-

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ed from a moſt loving Prince, diſmiſſed him. And now the Courtiers ſtanding round the King, expected to know the iſſue of this long conference; and the King in the hearing of them all, ſaid, *Well, let other men chooſe what Doctours they pleaſe, and make much of them; this man ſhall be my Doctour.* Whereupon *Bricot*, with the reſt of the gaping wolves departed: and from that day forward never dared trouble *Colet* any more; a perſon that in an high fortune and plenty, was led & governed not by his *nature*, but by *Chriſt*: in a word, whom I ſhall not doubt to reckon in the catalogue of my Saints, though he be never canonized by any Pope.

§. 32. *Thus far* Eraſmus: *who in other epiſtles and diverſ pieces of his works, inſerteth elogies of* D^r. Colet, *ſo often (as* epiſt. p. 619. d. & p. 311. b. lib. 5. ep. 4. p 306. f. &c.) *that they ſeem too numerous to be added here: I ſhall onely annex a few lines collected out of* Stow *'s Survey of* London (*in folio*) *concerning his kinred. His Father,* S^r. Hen. *Colet* (*ſon to* Robert Colet *of* Wendover *in* Buckinghamſhire, *Eſquire, p.* 573.) *was buried at* Stepney, *where his monument ſtill remains, p* 787. *And the pictures of* S^r. Henry, *and his dame* Chriſtian, *and ten of his ſons, and ten of his daughters remain in the windows, on the North-ſide of* S. Anthony (*alias* Antlin) *his Church near* Budge-row. *But he was born in the Manor of* Hale *in* Buckinghamſhire, *near* Wendover *and* Ailesburie: *which Manor our* D^r. *left to* S. Pauls *ſchool, and ſome of his name dwell there ſtill.* M^r. John Colet (*now a ſtudent in the Temple*) *and his Father, as alſo* M^r. Nic. Ferrar *of little* Gidding *in* Huntingdonſhire, *are all very nearly related to our Doctour; of whom I ſhall onely ſay this, that they were all three Fellow-Commoners in* Clare-Hall, *diligent frequenters of the Chappel: And* M^r. Ferrar *would, in the opinion of all that knew him, ſoon be as eminent for his ſanctity, as our Doctour is, if his and my knowing and pious friend* M^r. Timothy Thurſcroſſe, *would be perſwaded to write his life.*

§. 33. D^r.

§. 33. Dr. Colet *was buried in* S. Pauls *Church, where his monument is so excellently described by my learned friend* Mr. Dugdale *in his* History of S. *Pauls* Cathedral. p.64, 65. *that* I *shall not set down any thing of it here, but the words that be there engraven; which are as followeth;* Hic situs est, &c. *Here lies* John Colet, *Dean of this Church, an eminent Divine, who after the example of* S. Paul, *preached the Gospel always* * *without charges, and answered that sincere doctrine with the perpetual sincerity of his life. He alone built* S. Pauls *school, and endowed it with a yearly revenue. He honoured his most honest kinred with Christian qualities, chiefly with admirable sobriety and chastity: and now enjoyes the pearl of the Gospel, for love whereof he neglected all other things. He lived 53 years, officiated 16 years, and died in the year* 1519.

* That he did this *Erasmus* witnesseth, *Epist. Dedic. ad Cop. Verborum. Hoc in patriam officium,* Colete, *ita gratuitum & sincerum esse voluisti, ut nec ex tot annorum laboriosissimis concionibus, vel teruntio factus sis ditior; cúmque tua seminâris spiritualia, nullius unquam carnalia messueris.* And that in this rare act he did no more then his duty, no more then holy Scripture, and the old Canons of the Church (which in this Sermon he urgeth so much, to be rehearsed and obeyed by others) required of him, who had a good estate beside; is ananswerably proved by *Spalato De Eccles. repub. lib. 9. cap. 1. sect.8. ad 16. & sect. 24. ad 31. capite 4°. toto. initio 5°. cap. 7. sect. 8. &c.* but chiefly *cap. 10. sect. 1, 2, 3,* &c. Having said so much on this subject already in my notes on Dr. Colets sermon, pag. 38, 39, 43, 44, 45., 52 53, 54, 56, 57. I shall close all with one line of S. *Chrysostome* (*Homil. 15. ad 1. Tim. pag. 312. lin. 22. Edit. Savil.*) Ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν λέγω τοῦ δεῖν τοὺς προεστῶτας ἔχειν τροφὰς καὶ σκεπάσματα, ἵνα μὴ περιέλκωνται εἰς ταῦτα.

FINIS.

Errata. Pag. 43. lin. ult. read *propinquósque.* pag. 56. lin. 24. read *Apparitorum.* pag. 60. lin. 5. a fine, read *from pag. 69. lin. 12. and pag. 71. lin. 23.* p.51. l.16. add *See Chrys. hom. 8. in 1 Tim pag. 453. & Cypr. de dis. & hab. virg. pag. 189. & de laps. pag 204.*